University of Alberta

Under the Imprint of the Hogarth Press: Material Texts and Virginia Woolf's Corporate Identity

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
English

Department of English and Film Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 2007

Library and
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-32963-4
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-32963-4

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Abstract

How does one understand the Hogarth Press? Exploring a variety of approaches to that question, “Under the Imprint of the Hogarth Press” addresses the material and nonmaterial elements that constitute the institution and what its imprint signifies. This project draws on the methodology of book history, studying publishing history as method of cultural analysis. Based on archival research of the Hogarth Press’s production files, the analysis of Press ephemera, the Woolfs’ letters and autobiographical writing, all focusing on the years 1917 to 1942, this dissertation takes up the myths, misconceptions, and incomplete accounts surrounding the Press in order to challenge and unsettle assumptions and provide a reevaluation of the institution. A publisher is its list. It is also a name, a seal of approval, a publicist, a decision-making hub, and a capital investor. Though the Hogarth Press performs all these functions, it is also something of an empty centre: a point of exchange, but not an original producer of what is being exchanged. A publisher does not write books, or necessarily print them. A publisher must borrow the symbolic capital it confers to its list from the books and authors on its list. In the case of the Hogarth Press, the cornerstone author, Virginia Woolf, was also a founding partner of the publishing institution. This project is therefore also a literary project, providing a new context for understanding the work of Virginia Woolf and other Hogarth Press authors.

The Hogarth Press was successful, both artistically and economically, because of its contradictory and productive negotiations at multiple levels of production: material production practices, the physical objects produced, Press rhetoric and advertising, as well as distribution. At all of these levels of production the early years

over-determine and disproportionately characterize the Press, even after the practices and components of the institution had changed. The fascination with origins is an important component of the Hogarth Press brand, but for a fuller understanding the narrative arc of the Press's development must be studied. The Press was innovative and traditional, elitist and democratic, highbrow and commercial: a successful paradox.

Preface

The most important resources for this project are the Hogarth Press files, primarily located at the Universities of Reading and Sussex. The two collections, containing unpublished material, are catalogued differently. Listed below is a description of the numbered archival files to which the references in the body of the dissertation refer.

In the Reading holdings the numbers refer to boxed files containing a variety of material organized according to the book or series title. The files have been numbered and catalogued by Michael Bott. Random House holds the copyright for the files.

File # 546 The Uniform Edition 1929-54	(production estimates, publicity, foreign rights)
File # 550 *Between the Acts* 1941-54	(correspondence, production estimates)
File # 556 *Flush* 1933-54	(correspondence, production estimates)
File # 558 *Jacob's Room* 1929-49	(correspondence, production estimates)
File # 560 *Kew Gardens* 1927-54	(correspondence, production estimates, publicity)
File # 566 *On Being Ill* 1930	(correspondence, production estimates)
File # 569 *Roger Fry* 1935-51	(correspondence, production estimates, illustration proofs, publicity)
File # 571 *Three Guineas* 1938-50	(correspondence, production estimates, publicity)
File # 572 *To the Lighthouse* 1929-54	(correspondence, production estimates)
File # 575 *The Waves* 1931-54	(correspondence, production estimates)
File # 577 *The Years* 1936-40	(correspondence, production estimates, publicity)

The numbers for the Sussex holdings refer to the handlist for the Leonard Woolf Papers. The files have been organized according to topic under the general heading "Hogarth Press." The University of Sussex holds the copyright for the Leonard Woolf Papers.

Financial affairs

I.Q.1.a Account Books	(1917-1923, including subscribers, sales of books, purchasers, and production costs)
I.Q.1.c Press accounts	(profits and losses for 1937)

Hogarth Press history

I.Q.3.a Press Publicity	(Anniversary Announcement from 1922)
I.Q.3.b Correspondence	(inquiries regarding early history, letters about the Hogarth Press)
I.Q.3.c Correspondence	(letters about specific authors or books)
I.Q.3.d Correspondence	(regarding employees)

Additions

Q.3.a Publicity (Seasonal announcements 1923-42, 1944-57; Catalogues 1927-57)

Acknowledgements

For permission to quote from the Hogarth Press production files, papers and publicity materials I would like to thank Random House and the University of Sussex. For the use of various images, I am grateful for the permissions granted by Random House; The Society of Authors, as the Literary Representative of the Estate of Virginia Woolf; and Henrietta Garnett for the Estate of Vanessa Bell. I am indebted to Jeannine Green at the Bruce Peel Special Collections at the University of Alberta for all her assistance. I would also like to thank Michael Bott at the University of Reading, Lisa Sherlock from the E. J. Pratt library at Victoria University, as well as the staff at both Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library and at the University of Sussex Special Collections.

I am exceedingly grateful for all the guidance, advice, and encouragement from Ted Bishop. Always a pleasure to work with and talk to, I am a better writer because of him. This project has greatly benefited from the input and expertise of Michael O'Driscoll and Paul Hjartarson. I would like to thank Mark Hussey for his many insights and for the generous gift of his time. I would also like to thank Merrill Distad for his contributions.

I wish to acknowledge the support from the Department of English and Film Studies and the Faculty of Graduate Studies at the University of Alberta in the form of the Mary Louise Imrie Graduate Student Award and two Sarah Nettie Christie Travel Bursaries. These, along with grants from the Graduate Students' Association, allowed for the necessary research trips to England. My research was also supported by a Province of Alberta Graduate Fellowship.

This project would not have been possible without the ongoing support of family and friends. I want to thank my parents, Stan and Verlyn Willson, for all their generous gifts, of Hogarth Press volumes, a trip to St. Ives, and all their words of encouragement. I also want to especially thank my wonderful sister and dear friend Rebekah Willson, my other parents, Brian and Eunice Gordon, and the remarkable Florence Gordon. To Kristeen, Beth, Kerri, and all the other friends and family members who have generously offered all types of support and encouragement, thank you.

For Jon, who read every word many times, a better friend and partner than I could ever have imagined.

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Under the Imprint of the Hogarth Press: Material Texts and Virginia Woolf's Corporate Identity

"Under the Imprint of the Hogarth Press" seeks to answer a number of inter-related questions fundamental to understanding the institution and its productions. The dual overarching questions for this project are "what constitutes the Hogarth Press?" and "what does the Hogarth Press imprint signify?" In order to explore these questions, each chapter focuses on a subsidiary question: 1) What are the nonmaterial elements of the Hogarth Press? 2) What did the Hogarth Press do materially? 3) What types of objects did the Hogarth Press make? 4) How did the Hogarth Press publicize itself and its products? 5) How did the Hogarth Press sell its products and who bought them? To understand what a publisher is, and does, I have devised a four-part definition. A publisher is a name, a brand—accruing and distributing symbolic capital—that authorizes its books and is defined by its list; a publisher is a publicist, publicizing books and itself; a publisher is a capital investor, financing all or part of the production of books it chooses to publish; a publisher is a hub that connects, and chooses, the other elements of book production (authors, printers, binders, designers, illustrators, and booksellers). The multiplicity of this definition informs the scope of the research and the variety of elements that are included in it. The methodology for this project therefore draws on book history, including theories of material culture and bibliographic analysis, combined with a literary analysis of texts.

Key terms in this study have multiple referents as one signifier has both a material and nonmaterial signified: press, signature, imprint, logo. Separating the disparate elements out for inspection uncovers what the imprecise terms and concepts tend to obscure. The conflation of elements, often ignored by the book industry and little studied by literary scholars, reveals a misrecognition or narrowed definition of what constitutes a publishing institution. Robert Darnton notes that "the evolution of the publisher as a distinct figure [...] still needs systematic study" and that researchers "have barely begun to tap the papers of publishers, although they are the richest of all sources for the history of books" (126). This research contributes to the project of defining the modernist publisher and the work it does, as well as theorizing the publisher function and other key terms for more general application.

Based on archival research of the Hogarth Press's production files, the analysis of Press ephemera, the Woolfs' letters and autobiographical writing, this dissertation takes up the myths, misconceptions, and incomplete accounts surrounding the Press in order to challenge and unsettle assumptions and provide a reevaluation of the institution. In the case of the Hogarth Press, the cornerstone author, Virginia Woolf, was also a founding partner of the publishing institution. This project is therefore also a literary project, providing a new context for understanding the work of Virginia Woolf and other Hogarth Press authors.

To further focus the study on Press practices as they relate to Virginia Woolf's books, four key novels have been chosen for more extensive analysis: *Jacob's Room*, *To the Lighthouse*, *Flush*, and *The Years*. These books not only span Woolf's career from 1922 to 1937, but each is also important for different reasons. *Jacob's Room* (1922) was the first novel published by the Press and *To the Lighthouse* (1927) was published at the height of Woolf's literary career as she gained critical acclaim and wider recognition. *Flush* (1933) was a more popular book, a frequent choice of book clubs and is often excluded from studies of Woolf's works. *The Years* became a bestseller in 1937 as Woolf became a celebrity author. Woolf's status and the sales of her books form a key part in the establishment of the Press and were used in some sophisticated and persistent ways to construct a corporate identity for Woolf and for the Press.

Though Pierre Bourdieu defines the literary field as "at all times the site of a struggle between the two principles of hierarchization: the heteronomous principle […] and the autonomous principle" (40), and that producers of art (authors or publishers) cannot appeal to both principles, the case of the Hogarth Press proves that an oppositional appeal is possible—at the same time. The Hogarth Press was successful, at both material and symbolic levels, because of its contradictory and productive negotiations at multiple stages of book production: manufacturing practices, the physical objects produced, Press rhetoric and advertising, as well as distribution. The Press was innovative and traditional, elitist and democratic, highbrow and commercial, amateur and professional: a successful paradox.

At all levels of production the early years of the Press over-determine and disproportionately characterize the Press, even after the practices and components of the institution had changed. The fascination with origins, encouraged by official Press rhetoric, is an important component of the Hogarth Press brand. This project, however, charts the narrative arc of the Press over time, defining the Press by what it did and how it developed. The timeframe of this study 1917-1942 therefore focuses on the years of greatest involvement by both of the Woolfs and are key for the establishment of both the reputations of the people involved and the Press.

Chapter One

The Idea of the Hogarth Press: Definitions and Symbolic Components of the Institution

A publishing institution is a hub. It is the centre of a network that connects authors' manuscripts with printers, binders, and papermakers in addition to supplying capital. As the centre, the publishing institution makes decisions regarding the other people and objects involved. It makes arrangements for the advertisement of the books and in so doing it prepares for their arrival, notifying people of the intention to publish and to stimulate a desire for the product. It has public relations machinery and connections. It invests capital in order to physically and symbolically produce the book. It takes in the "finished" book and then sends it out, distributes it. The publishing institution should be of central consideration for the study of books, and the texts within them, because it is the seat of decision-making in many respects; it calls these objects into being and names them. It is the publisher that decides which works to take on, who will print them, what they will look like, how many copies will be made, how much money will be invested, where and how they will be advertised, and where they will be sold. Such a position gives a publishing institution great scope and influence. Yet, the publishing institution is something of an empty centre. It facilitates production and connects the various other sites of book manufacture and circulation, but it is usually one level removed from the production itself. A publisher, typically, does not write the books, or print them, or bind them, or sell them to customers. The publisher, as a meta-producer, takes its symbolic capital from the books it publishes and confers the credibility on to new books; it is a conduit of distinction.

The Hogarth Press is a unique example because, while authors do not typically make books—that is, create the physical object rather than just the linguistic components—Virginia Woolf and Leonard Woolf did. It is an important case that offers the study of the various roles played by the same individuals, including the impact of literary reputations, the tensions between intellectual labour and craft, the complex function of the publisher, and the relations with the market. The purpose of this study is to explore the question of what the Hogarth Press imprint[1] means. The meaning of the imprint has particular implications for Virginia Woolf's work, and is shaped in turn by her work and reputation. The imprint, with both material and nonmaterial aspects and effect, impacts all texts published at the Press. A publishing institution uses varied and interrelated elements to create meaning. My work seeks to separate out elements for closer examination as well as to put them into combination and suggest the multidirectional influences that result.

The Publisher Function

In addition to the more practical functions of a publisher there is the equally significant work of cultural and symbolic production. The use of a publisher's name and logo marks a book's belonging to a publisher. The desire for ownership and the construction of the publisher as central producer of a book is paralleled by the desire for the unification and ownership of an author, the most privileged role. A book is marked as belonging to an author and a publisher in ways that are not paralleled by binders or distributors, for example. Much of the functioning of book production and authorship covers over the collaborative elements in making books in order to concentrate the wealth and fame into the hands of fewer people, or, more likely, companies.

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[1] As we will see, the term imprint has multiple referents, but its most central meaning here is the name of the publisher, identifying the book as belonging to the Hogarth Press.

Like the author's name, which "seems always to be present, marking off the edges of the text, revealing, or at least characterizing, its mode of being" (Foucault 107), the publisher too characterizes a book. Part of the symbolic production of a book occurs with its categorization, in part accomplished by the publisher. The categorization is both a generic one—novel or biography—for example, and one of character—light or serious. At the start of the twentieth century, women who wanted light romance searched "for one name: Mills & Boon" (McAleer 100), a publisher rather than an author. If a Press is a non-mainstream Press, then what it produces is introduced into the world, into the marketplace, as non-mainstream. The publications and the nature of the publisher mutually inform each other. Not all books are intended primarily for reading. Some are for collecting, some are for conferring social status and legitimacy, some are for looking at and admiring, and the publisher works to establish the purpose. A publishing house (a term interesting for its domestic, personal sense) "authorizes" the book with its name and reputation, giving it a stamp of approval.

As Pierre Bourdieu notes, the "cultural businessman (art dealer, publisher, etc.) […] consecrates a product […] and the more consecrated he personally is, the more strongly he consecrates the work" (76). Here we see that the publishing institution is more than a network and a business: a publisher is also the person, or people, whose reputation is involved, and who confers value on the works chosen to be published. The publisher's recommendation becomes more compelling the more respected and acclaimed the person, or persona, of the publisher is. A publisher may also be a group of people and the decisions made by committee. The reputation would then be more complex as it is a conglomeration of personal reputations, but could be more compelling in certain ways, such as Edward Garnett's association with Duckworth & Co.[2] More than one name and reputation are associated with that publisher's imprint and Garnett's reputation as a first-class talent spotter benefited the publishing institution.

A publisher "proclaim[s] the value of the author he defends (cf. The fiction of the catalogue or blurb) and above all 'invests his prestige' in the author's cause, acting as a 'symbolic banker' who offers as security all the symbolic capital he has accumulated" (Bourdieu 77). Symbolic capital is based in part on the list and past decisions, increasing if the books published have proven successful and risen to the level of 'classics.' If a publisher is producing cultural goods,

> there is a long production cycle [...]. Having no market in the present, this entirely future-oriented production presupposes high-risk investments tending to build up stocks of products which may either relapse into the status of

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[2] Gerald Duckworth, Virginia Woolf's half-brother, founded his publishing business in 1898 and in addition to Edward Garnett as reader, employed "Jonathan Cape as his London traveler" (Norrie 56). Duckworth & Co. published Woolf's first two novels. In 1915 Edward Garnett "gave an extremely favourable report" (Bell 239) on *The Voyage Out* and it was accepted for publication. Woolf's reputation as a novelist then had the mark of his approval, which carried some weight in the literary community.

> material object (valued as such, by the weight of paper) or rise to the status of cultural objects endowed with an economic value incommensurate with the value of the material components which go into producing them. (Bourdieu 97)

The Hogarth Press had remarkable success in choosing cultural objects and made particularly strategic use of Virginia Woolf's own texts. What the Press did in the material production of these texts and others will be discussed at length in Chapter Two, but it is important to note that there is symbolic and strategic significance to their publication which is not solely material.

Bourdieu, quoting an unnamed writer, notes, "'a publisher' [...] 'is his catalogue'" (78). A publisher's reputation is based on what titles and prestige its list has accumulated. The relationship between the two elements in this formulation uses the logic of metonymy. As defined by Hayden White, the part, in this case the list, is used "in such a way as to *reduce* the whole to one of its parts" (34). Such a metonymic understanding of a publisher is a reduction and covering over of the complexities of production that may be contradictory to the 'nature' of a publisher. It is simple. Metaphoric logic stands in contrast to the metonymic and reductive logic of the relation between publisher and list. White argues that metaphor "asserts that a similarity exists between two objects in the face of manifest differences between them" and that the first object "is identified with the [second], but in such a way as to sustain the particularity of the [first] while suggesting the qualities that [it] shares with the [second]. The [first object] is not *reduced* to [the second], as would be the case if [it] were read Metonymically" (34). Applying this understanding to the relationship between a publisher and its list, the result is an identification that still asserts the particularity of the list and the publishing institution, while acknowledging important similarities. The elements that are discordant do not have to be ignored. The metaphoric logic is preferable for a critical understanding of a complex institution. For example, when in 1923 the Hogarth Press published Eliot's *The Waste Land*, considered an important and high-modernist work,[3] its presence on the list asserted the Press's avant-garde nature and commitment to experimental poetry and, by metonymic logic, defined the Press. While this is true on the one hand, there is also the fact that in the same year the Press published the more commercially successful *Tolstoi's Love Letters* and *Talks with Tolstoi*, as well as *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis*, among other titles. The details of publishing history, the context, and chronology of events modifies the meaning of the poem in the Press's list and resists simplistic reduction. It is important to remember the logic of metonymy, however, because it is how a Press can be understood, and often is understood, by the public more generally.

The Story of *Two Stories*

The typical narrative of the start of the Hogarth Press is as follows. After teaching themselves to print, with about a month of practice, Leonard and Virginia Woolf "decided to print a paper-covered pamphlet containing a story by each of [them] and to try to sell it by subscription to a limited number of people whom [they] would circularize" (*Beginning* 235). The Press began as a hobby, in the dining room of Hogarth House, and it unintentionally became a business over time. *Two Stories* was the first publication.

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[3] Even the case of *The Waste Land* is more complex than this reading would indicate. The poem had been published by Boni and Liveright, *The Dial* and *The Criterion* in the previous year, even winning *The Dial* prize.

Many scholars and critics have repeated and reinforced the characterization of the first publication, and by extension, the Press, as noncommercial and personal. This narrative is inadequate, however, because it ignores the symbolic capital invested in the publication and Press from the start; it downplays the marketing savvy of *Two Stories*; it disregards the fact that *Two Stories* was not actually the first publication of the Press: rather the first publication was an advertisement for *Two Stories*. A new paradigm is needed for the origin of the Press, but also for understanding the evolution of the Press and the Woolfs' relations to it.

Two Stories, the first artistic publication, serves, then, as a case study to outline many of the issues this project will address. It is useful as an example of the book production circuit, revealing how interconnected the various elements and people were in the production of the books, as well as establishing certain material practices that would become characteristic of the Hogarth Press. *Two Stories* helps to establish the character of the Press, to launch elements of myth that persist; an examination of it encompasses early material practices, the physical objects, publicity, distribution and reception. The first book printed and published by the Press was very fittingly one that included Leonard's "Three Jews" and Virginia's "The Mark on the Wall." A joint venture in printing and publishing, they wanted the Press, in part, as an outlet for their own work as well as that of others.

Both Leonard and Virginia had been published extensively by this time. In 1913 Edward Arnold published Leonard's *The Village in the Jungle* and it received positive reviews. The following year Arnold published Leonard's *The Wise Virgins*, his second novel. Leonard wrote for *Co-operative News*. He worked as a reviewer for the *New Statesman*, and also wrote reviews for the *New Weekly* (Glendinning 169). Virginia wrote many contributions for the *Times Literary Supplement* around the time of the founding of the Press. According to B.J. Kirkpatrick, Virginia produced fourteen articles in the *TLS* and two in *The Times* itself in 1916. The following year, her publications increased to thirty-five *TLS* articles, most of them book reviews. Not only was her work known as reviewer (though many were unsigned), but she was also establishing her reputation as a fiction writer of some note. Her first novel, *The Voyage Out*, published by Duckworth in March of 1915 received some interesting critical reactions, many very positive. E.M. Forster, in a review headed 'A New Novelist' writes, "Here at last is a book which attains unity as surely as *Wuthering Heights*" (qtd. in Majumdar and McLaurin 53). Writing for the Hogarth Press was different, however.

The text of "The Mark on the Wall" is innovative, "heralded as the first modernist work by Virginia Woolf, marking her break with literary tradition in general and nineteenth-century realism in particular" (Marcus "Virginia Woolf" 133). The new Press was for new work. "The Mark on the Wall" and "Three Jews" were both "concerned with a break with the past and with inherited conventions" (Marcus 136), a negotiation between old and new that the Press itself took up. The decision to publish actually predates the writing of Virginia's "The Mark on the Wall." As of

May 22, 1917, Woolf writes to Vanessa Bell that they had "just stared printing Leonard's story; I haven't produced mine yet" and they had "got about 60 orders already" (*Letters* 2: 156). The work was not only advertised, but also purchased before it was even completed. Such a timeline reveals the strategic decision of what would be a suitable launch for the Press and a story, at least in Virginia's case, written with that in mind.

The physical production of *Two Stories* was labour intensive, taking the Woolfs "two months, working nearly every afternoon, to produce the 34-page pamphlet" (Spater and Parsons 100). They were limited both by the press's size, and the amount of type they had, which "was only sufficient to set up two small pages. After these had been inked and run off on the press, one sheet at a time, the formes had to be broken up so that the type could be used for the succeeding two pages" (Spater and Parsons 100). The handpress had the capacity to print one demi-octavo page (5 5/8" x 8 ¾") or two crown octavo pages (5" x 7 ½") at a time and *Two Stories* was the larger size. As Hermione Lee calculates it, to "print 134[4] copies of each page of *Two Stories*, a 32[5] page booklet would have involved a minimum of 4,154 pulls" (816). When the Woolfs began to print *Two Stories* they also encountered some problems: "None of the letters printed completely black, there were tiny dots everywhere" (*Beginning* 238). F. T. McDermott, a printer who ran the small, commercial Prompt Press, explained that if the "whole page [was] infinitesimally not

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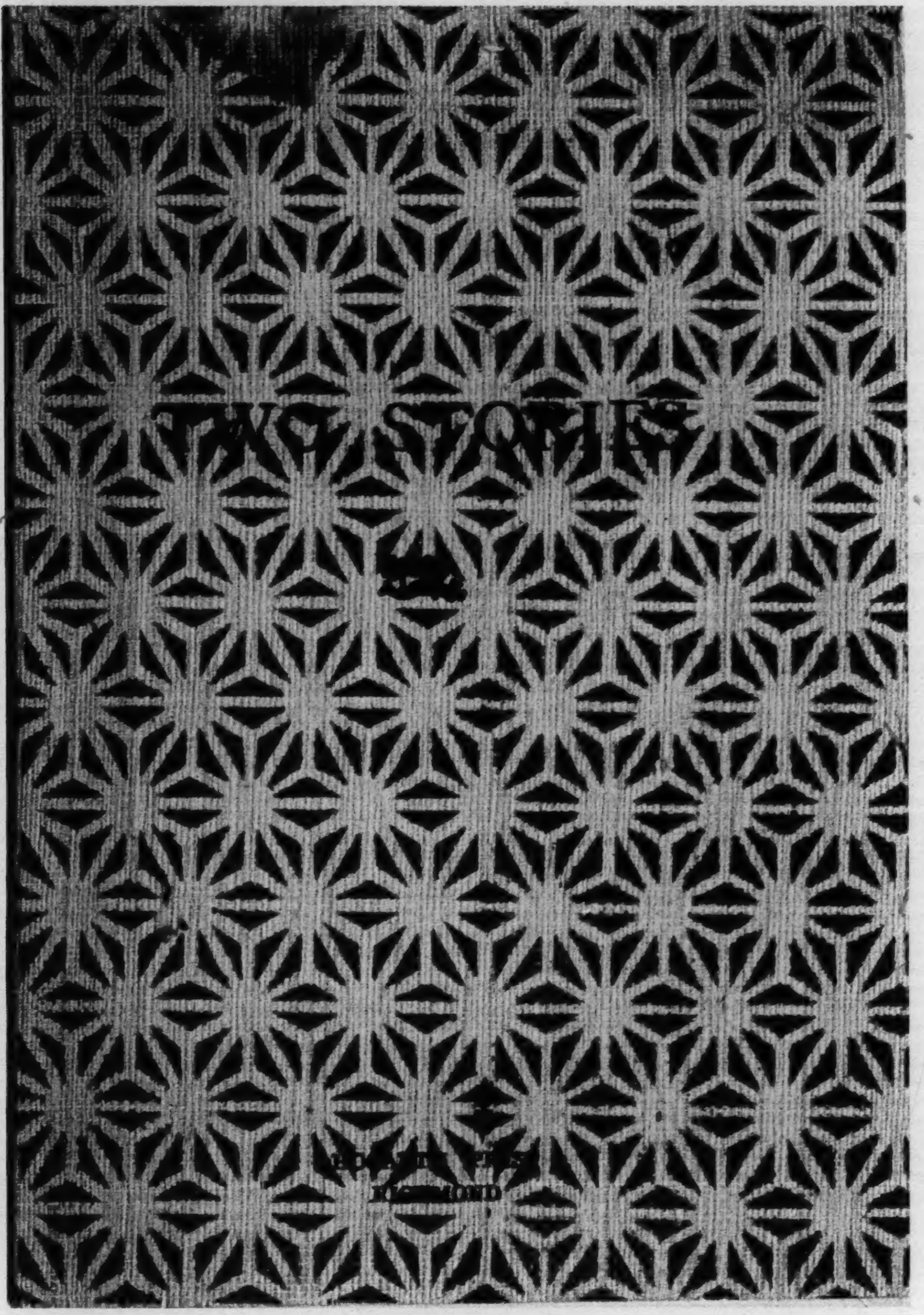
[4] Some sources list the number of copies printed as 150. Leonard says the edition was "about 150 copies" (*Beginning* 236). However, with 134 copies sold, letters indicate that the edition was sold out.

[5] The discrepancies in number of pages seems to depend on how the pages are counted. Both Rhein and Woolmer list 31 pages in *Two Stories*.


TWO STORIES

Cover page of *Two Stories*

flat on the imposing surface—it would be 'off its feet' and would not print evenly" (*Beginning* 238).

In terms of the artifact created, *Two Stories* was materially linked to the Omega Workshops among other things. It "was in the hand-craft tradition," including the "four woodcuts by Dora Carrington, an Omega artist" (Spater and Parsons100). Artistic collaboration of various types would continue to be an important element in Hogarth Press publications. Virginia Woolf, writing to Carrington about the printing of her woodcuts, says, "they make the book much more interesting than it would have been without" and that "we see that we must make a practice of always having pictures" (*Letters* 2: 162). The pages were uncut, making the books appear linked to an earlier time. Leonard and Virginia also "bound it [them]selves by stitching it into paper covers" (*Beginning* 236).[6] The paper covers were not standard for all copies; rather, there were plain yellow covers, woven blue covers, and covers of a geometric pattern in red (Porter *Virginia Woolf* 23). The covers were done in "Japanese paper or paper-backed cloth lettered in black," and "it is entirely possible that other variants exist" (Woolmer 3). Carefully chosen, unusual, and brightly coloured covers did become characteristic of the Press, as did multiple covers used within one print run of a book, creating multiplicity within one edition, which usually indicates conformity.

As Donna Rhein notes, "the Woolfs favored a white page rather than the black page of dark ink, close lines and closely spaced type popularized by William Morris" and the "generous use of space in margins and between lines" as in *Two Stories* "is typical" (12) of the handprinted books. Leonard remarks of *Two Stories* "that the printing is rather creditable for two persons who had taught themselves for a month in a dining-room [...]. What is quite wrong is the backing, for I had not yet realized that a page on one side of the sheet must be printed so that it falls exactly on the back of the page on the other side of the sheet" (*Beginning* 235). Also, the third woodcut was "printed at an angle, the upper left corner an eighth of an inch higher than the upper right corner" (Willis 17). The artifact highlights rather than masks the human and amateur involvement in its production; the books are not typographically perfect.

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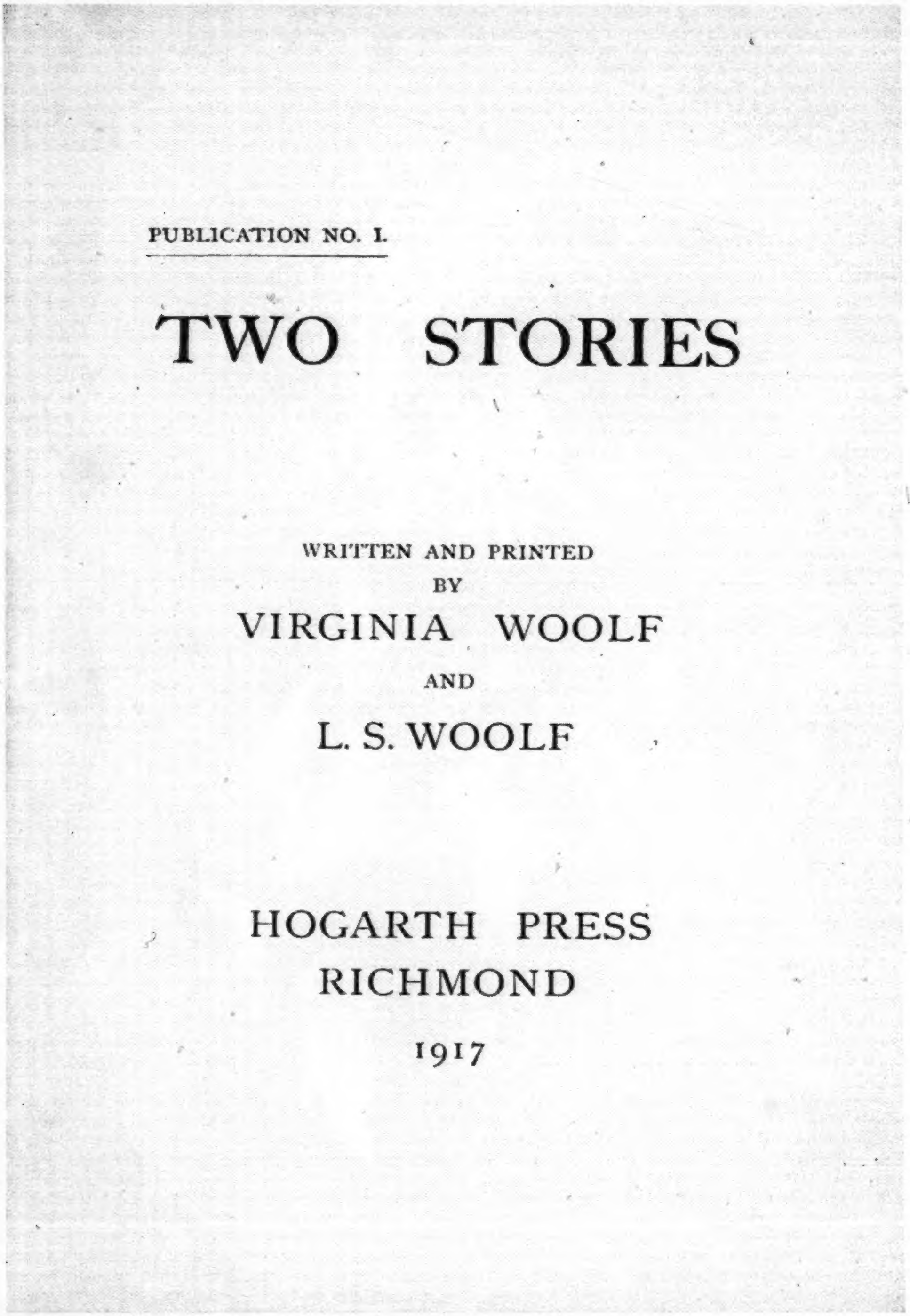
[6] The stitched binding, tied in a knot of bright red thread between pages 16 and 17 of the book, is clearly visible. Because Leonard suffered from hand tremors, Virginia set the type for handprinted books, and also most likely tied the knot. Thus, the binding of *Two Stories* offers a material connection to Virginia Woolf herself, increasing the value of the book and thrilling many who have the opportunity to see and feel a copy.

There are also things of note on the title page of *Two Stories*. At the head of the page is the statement "*Publication No. 1.*" Lee notes, "though it didn't develop into a series, their optimism was vindicated" (365). The statement also functions as a more direct communication to their buyers and friends indicating their sense of a future and the inaugural moment for the Press. The Press would also start a number of successful pamphlet and book series in subsequent years.

In addition to the physical production is the consideration of the finances of production. Leonard calculates that the "total cost of production was £3.7s.0d., which included the noble sum of 15s. to Carrington for the woodcuts, 12s.6d. for paper, and 10s. for the cover paper" (*Beginning* 237). The only person paid was Carrington, and only a very small amount was given to her. The first advertised price, printed on the circular, was 1s.2d., but then the Press sold the book for 1s.6d., and, as "the supply began to run out" (Woolmer 3), raised the price to 2s. From the archival records the price seems to have gone up on the 10th of July when copy number 108 was sold to



PUBLICATION NO. I.

TWO STORIES

WRITTEN AND PRINTED
BY
VIRGINIA WOOLF
AND
L. S. WOOLF

HOGARTH PRESS
RICHMOND
1917

Title page of *Two Stories*

"D. Carrington" (I.Q.1.a). "The two authors were not paid any royalty" (*Beginning* 237), and this became a fairly common practice especially for the works that were authored and printed by the same people. Nor were the many hours of labour paid for or calculated in the profits of the first work. The above factors contributed to the financial success of *Two Stories*. Selling 134 copies, the "total receipts were £10.8s.0d" and "the net profit was £7.1s.0d." (*Beginning* 237). Willis remarks that this amount covered "over one-third of the cost of the printing press" (16). The Woolfs invested in their Press and the rewards began early.

The distribution of *Two Stories* was mainly through the mail and personal contacts. The one page circular, the first publication of the Press, was set by the second of May, 1917 though it could not immediately be printed as "the press arrived smashed" (*Letters* 2: 151). Once the press was mended, still in early May, the Woolfs mailed out the announcement which requested a reply and money, through the post, as well as offering to send the books out the same way. The book was published in July, though the first order recorded was May 12th. The 134 copies sold were to 87 people placing 91 orders, including members of the literary world Michael Sadleir, Edward Garnett, G. E. Moore, J.C. Squire and future Hogarth Press authors Hope Mirlees, Logan Pearsall Smith, and Katherine Mansfield. The man who would help translate Russian novels, S. S. Koteliansky, bought three copies. Roger Fry bought six copies, and other artists who would become involved in the Press also bought copies—Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant. Political figures Margaret Llewelyn Davies, J.M. Keynes, Beatrice Webb and Arthur Ponsonby M.P. all purchased copies, as did society women, the Honourable Dorothy Brett, Lady Ottoline Morrell, and Lady

Robert Cecil (I.Q.1.a). The buyers of *Two Stories* demonstrate the initial diversity of readership, or buyership. Such a list of names also helps to associate the Press with the "right" people, though the group is diverse.

The reception of the book, beyond its sales, forms an interesting part of the paratext, one that includes published reviews as well as private responses. In this case, the book was not publicly reviewed; however, there were letters from friends with praise. Violet Dickinson wrote in July, expressing her appreciation, as did David Garnett. Lytton Strachey wrote to Leonard that Virginia's story was "a work of genius" (qtd. in Bell 271). The Woolfs considered it a success, financially and otherwise, and were encouraged enough to continue and to take on larger works. The later reception of the work places great significance on Woolf's story and the Press reprinted "The Mark on the Wall" three times by 1921. "The Three Jews" was never republished by the Press. The first production, as paradigm, establishes the Woolfs as the Hogarth Press. They were the authors of *Two Stories*, its printers, publishers, advertisers, and distributors. It was Virginia Woolf's writing, however, that was strategically reprinted, acknowledging and asserting its importance.

Key Words: Press, press, and publisher

The connection and slippage between material and nonmaterial elements was part of the impetus for this project: to examine their interrelations and tease out the diverse referents. There is terminological conflation of one realm with another, either for the purpose of establishing a certain characterization, or by accident due to the complexity of the definitions. Defining the terms "press" and "publisher" is important foundational work, especially because the referents are remarkably elastic. Describing and defining a "press," though seemingly simple, is surprisingly difficult, thus suggesting the complex ways a cultural institution and business function. The fact that both economic and cultural production are at work in book production is perhaps partly why business people, artists, and even scholars employ ambiguous terminology. A press can refer to a printing press, to a printing business, or to a publishing business. Therefore, the term conflates the means and specific technology used to print a page, the company that produces pages, and the company or person that "prepares and issues book[s] […] for sale" ("Publisher," def. 2b). In order to help clarify the referents, I use "press" to refer to a physical printing machine and "Press" to refer to a printing or publishing business, but the business designations are still not satisfactory. Some companies both print and publish, but many businesses are solely publishing companies with no printing capacity of their own and no physical press behind their imprint. Using the name "Press," even when one step removed from printing, highlights the connection to the physical, mechanical, and artisanal production of books, eliding the printer who physically produces the pages. This move suggests a need for increased ownership, association, and credit for a book, one that is largely successful if measured by the name recognition of publishing companies compared to the printers they use.

As with the term "press," the question of what a publisher is, is not often considered in any great depth. The greater specialization of roles is a later development in book production, as early publishing was done by a bookseller or printer, and often even these roles were combined in one person. While at "the start of the nineteenth century many publishers/booksellers were still also printers and binders[,] [b]y its end at least three of these occupations had been separated although there were major exceptions" (Norrie 14). In the early book-trade the printer

> procured the services of an engraver to cut punches specially for him and had them cast at a local foundry; he chose the manuscripts he wished to print and edited them; he determined the number of copies to be printed; he sold them to his customers […]. And if he did not perform all these functions himself, it was he who had to raise the capital. (Steinberg 127)

It was also the central figure, the printer, who had to pay others, make the commissions, and organize the distribution of books. Book production was more centralized and unified in a single person or business than in subsequent years, and that person was involved in the physical production of the books. The amount of capital needed to finance book production meant that few printer-publishers "were in a position to invest large sums;" they therefore "had to secure their capital from outsiders, and this cooperation of artisan and financier easily led to the subsequent separation of printer and publisher" (Steinberg 130). The distinction is made between the craftsperson, with printing skill, and the investor, the publisher, who is not necessarily affiliated with the world of art or even specially skilled. Such an inglorious, commercial, and even arguably mercenary role in book production may help to explain why some publishers would prefer to be considered "Presses." A publisher—whether person or business—publishes, makes public, and according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* means he/she/it "prepares and issues books, newspapers, music, etc., for sale to the public" ("Publisher," def. 2b). The current definition gives the purpose as a commercial one—to sell, while the Latin root, *publicare*, simply means to make public. In today's common usage, a publisher can refer to a person in a role as well as an institution, and the two are not generally distinguished. Unlike a Press or press, which remains a business or impersonal object, a publisher might refer to a person's particular role, even a name. This slippage, or imprecision, in the term publisher is interesting because it demonstrates the need for a dual consideration of the institution in terms of the impersonal elements and the people who comprise it.

The Hogarth Press as press

What is the Hogarth Press then? The answer is at least double. The press was an Excelsior Company[7] platen-jobber table-top press set up in Hogarth House in 1917, but the Hogarth Press is also a complex institution that changed over time. The Hogarth Press shifted, almost immediately, from a literal item—the Hogarth House press—to an institution that no longer refers to just one machine, or just the two people's names that appeared in the imprint. The straightforward physical referent is perhaps disarming, making the Press seemingly simple to understand. The double referent remains, however, as does the effect of that beginning and those associations when considering what a Hogarth Press publication means. One recent example of the confusion resulting from terminology can be found in a 2006 edition of *The New*

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[7] The Excelsior press was patented in 1873 by the American William Kelsey, and was "made for the amateur market in the United States" (Cave 118). The Excelsior Printers Supply Company of Farringdon Street, where the Woolfs purchased their press, was "a firm which had been organized for the distribution of Kelsey's Excelsior presses in England" and that "continued to manufacture the press until World War Two" (Cave 121).

Yorker. Rachel Cohen writes, "At the Hogarth Press, which for many years occupied the larder in [the Woolfs'] basement, they printed not only "After the Deluge" and "The Waves" but T.S. Eliot's "The Waste Land" and Katherine Mansfield's "Prelude"" (92). In fact, only Eliot's poem was printed on the Hogarth press, though all were Hogarth Press publications. Cohen has conflated the Press with the press, ascribed printing to publishers. The result of this conflation and the confusion of terminology, whether deliberate or not, is to make the achievement more impressive and more directly attributable to the Woolfs themselves. Such an error, easily and often made, is to the advantage of the Press.

Subcategories: the private press and the small publisher

When examining definitions and categorizations attached to the Hogarth Press, two subcategories become important, and these terms often include people and their roles along with a type of institution. Roderick Cave explores the difficulty of defining a private press, noting, the answer to "'What is a private press?'" has "never been answered altogether satisfactorily" and every "writer on private printing has produced his own definition" (16). The *Encyclopedia of the Book* defines it as "a small printing house which issues for public sale limited editions of books which have been carefully made on the premises," or "groups of amateurs working in their homes, the results being given to members and friends," or "Publishers may also style themselves 'Press' and issue limited editions of books they have not printed" (Glaister 396). Eric Gill, in 1933, states, "a 'private' press prints solely what it chooses to print, whereas a 'public' press prints what its customers demand of it. The distinction has nothing to do with the use of machinery or with questions of the artistic quality of the product" (qtd. in Glaister 396). In Gill's definition, it is the intentions and autonomy of the producers, their non-reliance on the market, that define the press as private. A flexible definition allows for easier application to a variety of situations, possibly covering over disparities. Cave chooses, as "a more suitable definition of a private press" for modern presses, C. R. Ashbee's definition, "as one 'whose objective is an aesthetic one, […] caters for a limited market, and is not concerned with the commercial development of printing by machinery'" (16-17). The private press printer "Is more interested in making a good book than a fat profit. He prints what he likes, how he likes, not what someone else has paid him to print" (Carter qtd. in Cave 17). Both the private press and printer are to some degree noncommercial, autonomous, and interested in the artistic merit of what they produce. Terms that recur are "uncommercial" and "amateur." Cave elsewhere asserts that the "real criteria of a *private* press" are the "elements of complete personal selection and control" (160). For private press production how the book gets made, and who does the work, is important. A "Press in the arts and crafts tradition of Kelmscott or Doves [has] all the work being done by hand under the direct personal supervision of the owner," or a Press can "make special use of the resources of a single commercial printer" (Cave 188). The Nonesuch Press (1923) troubled definitions because its founders "set out to be mobilisers of other people's resources; to be designers, specifiers, rather than manufacturers; architects of books rather than builders'" (Meynell qtd. in Cave 188). The problem with the Nonesuch highlights the importance of the personal, the craft, the use of human hands in private press book production. The Hogarth Press did not officially shun these personal elements, but it did not exclusively employ them, as we shall see in Chapter Two. While some elements of the definitions of private press apply to the Hogarth Press, others do not. Therefore, even when the term is applied, further elaboration of what the term indicates in the particular case is needed so as not to lead to misunderstanding.

Jean Peters suggests the term "small publisher" to distinguish a certain kind of production from the private press and she places the Hogarth Press in this category. The small publisher, "Unlike the private press, for which fine design and production are usually the chief concern," rather "places it secondary to the concern for content. The small publisher's concern with bookmaking shows itself more in the production of 'interesting-looking' or 'unusual-looking' books than it does in the production of 'fine books'" (210). Some have also termed this type of organization a highbrow press. This definition does describe the Hogarth Press to some extent, though the Press also produced some limited editions and books more in keeping with "fine" books. Further, the term '"small publisher" does not account for the handprinting and other more personal aspects of book production at the Press. Categorizing the Press is difficult when one considers the diversity of practices, products, and intentions, and this difficulty in affixing a label is an important part of the successes of the Press.

The Hogarth Press as private press

The start of the Press raises issues of purpose, intent, and characterization. And it is a good story. There are often repeated elements that take on mythic status. The Woolfs had to teach themselves to print; the printing schools were not open to them as "lessons could only be taken by unionised apprentices" (Lee 363). The closed doors of the St. Bride's printing school meant that their business would be amateur, without professional training or membership in a guild or professional organization, by necessity. Teaching themselves to print also adds a sense of gentility to the Press; printing had been a popular pastime for aristocrats in previous centuries. Mary Gaither states, the "establishment of The Hogarth Press grew quite simply out of the Woolfs' interest in printing" (xx). The work the Woolfs took on was of personal interest, and they were very much involved in the printing/craft aspect of book production in the early days. They used their own hands to produce books and this association has stayed with the Press. The absence of professional training also lends support to the idea of the Press as a noncommercial venture, less a business than a pastime. The activities and productions of the early days of the Press fit with a number of the aspects of a private press, and the Hogarth Press is included in books such as Cave's *The Private Press*, and defined by Glaister as "originally a private press set up in 1917 by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at their house in Richmond, Surrey" (230). In part, this categorization can be traced to its location: housed in the Woolfs' own residence they mixed their personal and professional space. Even after the move from Hogarth House in 1924, they kept the press in their residence, using the basement of 52 Tavistock Square.

At issue here is how the Hogarth Press was, and is, understood, its nature; by extension its nature defines its books. Beginnings and originary moments are important for this understanding because they are places, or moments, that people often reference and are part of determining the nature of an institution. Kenneth

Burke writes that "a history's *end* is a formal way of proclaiming its *essence* or *nature*" (13), but in the case of the Hogarth Press, the beginning seems much more the focus for determining its nature, and is much more frequently discussed. Perhaps this is because there is no clear end to the institution. Perhaps this is also because Virginia Woolf was no longer involved in the later years of the Press and she could no longer function as an impetus for study. The later years of the Press and its presumed end are less desirable and less interesting for those who tend to study the Press. After Woolf's death, the narrative of the Press can be read as a common, denigrated story of succumbing to corporate pressures, becoming big, commercial and not at all private, the impersonal absorption into a corporation. In 1946 Leonard bought out John Lehmann's share of the Press and sold it to Chatto and Windus. This "arrangement provided for Chatto to run the business of The Hogarth Press on a day-to-day basis but for Leonard to maintain control of what books should be published by the Press" (Brunner 12). The Hogarth Press became a company in 1947 and eventually its imprint was combined with that of Chatto and Windus. Leonard was involved until his death in 1969, but he was no Virginia. Characterizing the Press as a private press obscures the "end" and refocuses the attention on the start, which indicates the "true" nature of the Press.

The Woolfs' purpose and intentions in starting the Press must also be considered, difficult though it is, because intentions shape the interpretation and understanding of all subsequent actions and productions. Intentions can make a press private, according to Gill's defintion. It is a commonplace notion that the Hogarth

Press was started as therapy for Virginia.[8] Leonard says they "were both interested in printing" and that it "struck [him] that it would be a good thing if Virginia had a manual occupation of this kind which [...] would take her mind completely off her work" (*Beginning* 233). Sally Dennison proposes that "with her own press, [Virginia] would presumably be so busy printing her fictions she wouldn't have time to worry so much about their reception" (57). One could argue that the Press did not begin as a business, but rather as an artisanal hobby. They were interested in the craft of printing. However, they sold the first artistic production and even made a profit. Further, the official rhetoric of the Press at times emphasized the private press aspects and at other times styled itself more as a small publisher.

The Hogarth Press as small publisher

The beginning of the Press can be read a second way. In addition to being a noncommercial hobby, focused on the act of printing, the Press was also to be an alternative to the commercial mainstream publisher; it had an artistic purpose. The Press was a conduit for important works to reach readers. The typical narratives are important for helping to establish what the Press is *not*: a primarily commercial venture, or a fine printing press. Marcus notes that

> [d]espite the 'artistic' input of Fry, Bell and others, the Woolfs were uninterested, for the most part, in the 'fine printing' and the reprinting of classics typifying those small presses which extended late nineteenth-century

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[8] For some references to this understanding of the Press see Quentin Bell *Virginia Woolf: A Biography* p.266, and Dunn *A Very Close Conspiracy: Vanessa Bell and Virginia Woolf* p.159.

> arts and crafts publishing into the twentieth century. Their project was always to provide a forum for new works or for writing formerly unavailable in English. (125)

Its mandate was to publish works that otherwise would not be published, for reasons of length, content, or genre. They did fulfill this mandate, but from early days they also chose to publish things that had already been published elsewhere or that would almost certainly have been publishable with a commercial firm. Further, the very first publication, the advertisement, was a move to begin accruing symbolic capital for the Press, establishing the importance of what was to follow. The negative definition, what the Press was not, left open the question of what it was, and the complexity of its list and practices undermine to some extent any attempt to categorize it.

The historical moment of the early twentieth century was also a propitious time to start a Press and the Woolfs were not the only ones who did so. John Mepham notes that "[n]on-commercial small-press publishing played a vital role in the history of literary modernism. Writers were liberated from the pressures of the market for long enough to find their way and to reach a small but important audience" (58). But why did small presses appear then? As large publishing houses updated their methods of production, older typefaces became cheap and more readily available. There was also a printing revival following William Morris's Kelmscott Press and the renewed interest in the arts and crafts. At the start of the twentieth century new presses proliferated, some private, some small publishers, some hybrids: the Dun Emer Press (later Cuala) in 1902, Pelican Press (1916), Golden Cockerel Press (1920), Gregynog

Press (1922), Nonesuch Press (1923), Beaumont Press (1927), Seizin Press (1928), Hours Press (1928), among others.

Amateurism and Professionalism

The complex and conflicting characterization of the Press has implications that invoke key contemporary debates about art, gender, and politics. Woolf herself holds conflicting purposes for the Press and for her writing. Writing for the importance of what is being written, rather than money or sales, is in many ways analogous to the private press's autonomy and focus on the product, or the small publisher's artistic mandate. Like the private press, amateur writing could be seen as disinterested and had a history of associations with gentility and the male gender that were both appealing and problematic. In contrast, printing could also be constructed as an amateur leisure activity for females, and therefore troubling in different ways. In an 1862 exhibition, a miniature Albion Press was accompanied with

> an appeal to ladies to turn their attention to a private study to produce gems of thought, in elegancies of well-assorted type, and clever arrangement, so as to relieve the finders from the ornamental intricate worsted work and crochet labyrinthal pattern, and to exert the same perseverance in leisure hours to the cultivation of private circulation of new ideas, which would soon grow into a pleasure in the doing and a necessity for fireside entertainment. (Jones qtd. in Cave 123-124)

Printing is here constructed as a domestic and feminine occupation, a private activity, done at home and not widely circulated.

An amateur is one who does something for the love of it, "an unpaid player, performer;" as an adjective, it means "not professional" or "unskillful" ("Amateur," def. 2a, 2b). This term, then, encapsulates an ideal of artistic production and a derogatory designation. The term "amateur" concerned Woolf and she worried that the publication of her books at the Press would leave her open to the charge of amateurism. She wrote a piece on Samuel Butler in 1919 in which she says *The Way of All Flesh* "bears in every part of it the mark of being a home-made hobby rather than the product of high professional skill," and "it is a limitation to be an amateur" (*Essays* 3: 58-59). Lee writes, Woolf "wanted neither her books nor her publishing firm to be considers 'a home-made hobby'" (367). The lack of income for an amateur was also, in political respects, a problem for Woolf. Bridget Elliott and Jo-Ann Wallace argue Woolf was in tension as a modernist woman "between, on the one hand, a 'feminist' ideology of professionalism which demanded the right to a fair, living wage for one's cultural labour and, on the other hand, an individualist and 'modernist' ideology of artistic (and financial) disinterestedness" (70). Gender further complicated the issue, as did the associations of certain genres with women:

> This hierarchization was reinforced by the increasing numbers of women in the artistic professions and the consequent devaluing of genres—such as the portrait and, to a lesser degree, the novel—which expressed a more overt association with women and with professionalism (writing for money); this devaluation coincided with the privileging of more seemingly disinterested genres, such as abstract painting and avant-garde poetry. (Elliott and Wallace 70)

At times Woolf works to position herself as one of the male modernists, producing disinterested high art. As Molly Hite argues, "when it came to naming her own peers or immediate precursors, Woolf located herself in a context of novelists, biographers and poets who were exclusively male" (207). However, her position is also responsive to issues of female denigration and economics. She kept track of sales figures and what she could buy with the money she earned. Lee argues, "It is misleading to think of her as indifferent to financial matters, in spite of her capital and her private Press [...]. She was intensely conscious of her value in the market-place" (558). Her value in the market had positive political implications as well as risks.

Wallace and Elliot assert that Woolf "drew an implicit distinction between the writing she did for money (her articles) and the writing which expressed 'my own point of view' (her novels)" (72). The writing she did for expression of her personal view was published at the Hogarth Press, complicating the distinction of what was written for money and what was primarily written for other reasons. Though "Woolf's co-ownership of The Hogarth Press represented for her freedom from what she saw as two interrelated markets: that of the exchange of women in a patriarchal sexual economy, and that of the exchange of commodities in a capitalist economy" (Elliott and Wallace 73), the Press was not outside the market of commodity exchange. Further, not all of Woolf's Press publications were put in the same relation to the market. The Press, so as to avoid negative or problematic associations, could represent itself as being professional, a source of income and a successful business, at the same time as a hobby, an amateur pursuit done for the importance of literature and the love of art, depending on the situation.

Reputations

After having considered what the Press is, and why it started, we must focus on the who: the people involved and their reputations. The Woolfs used their reputations to partially fill the empty centre of the institution. How much power to consecrate did the Woolfs have? To answer this question we must consider their status in 1917, including their work, their circle of friends, and social position. Virginia Woolf was known, by this time, as a reviewer, and a novelist, as well as a daughter of Sir Leslie Stephen. Majumdar and McLaurin note that "most people in the literary world of the time would have known of this eminent Victorian man of letters, who was famous as a literary critic and compiler of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. (He was Vernon Whitford in Meredith's *The Egoist* before becoming Mr Ramsay in *To the Lighthouse*)" (1). The family literary inheritance gave her an artistic 'letter of introduction' of sorts. She had "family and social connections that included many prominent names such as Thackeray, Duckworth, and Maitland" (Gaither xx). Her social position was also to her advantage in her choice of friends as many of them "owned, edited and contributed to various newspapers and journals, and so Virginia Woolf was assured of sympathetic private and public attention from intelligent and influential people" (Majumdar and McLaurin 1). Woolf was an "insider" in many senses, by birth, social situation, and community, which altered the response to her work.

Leonard had worked for the civil service in Ceylon and to his colonial administrative experience he added various jobs, an array of publications, and an assortment of connections with important people. In 1912 he worked as secretary for the "second Post-Impressionist Exhibition, organized by Roger Fry" (*Beginning* 93). In addition to his work as a rather prolific reviewer and novelist twice over, in 1915 he wrote a report on the war that was published as a supplement to the *New Statesman* (*Beginning* 186) and became "heavily involved, as a co-founder, in the League of Nations Society" (Glendinning 188). He was also politically active and involved with the Fabian society. In 1916 he wrote *International Government*, for which G.B. Shaw "offered a supportive introduction, which Leonard declined for the British edition, but accepted for the American one" (Glendinning 187). Further, Leonard became the secretary of "the Advisory Committee on International and Imperial Questions, a think tank which [Sidney] Webb chaired" to help with "drafting a new Labour Party constitution" (Glendinning 191). Most of these posts and connections would affect the Hogarth Press in one way or another and these associations were attached to the name Leonard Woolf in the colophon[9] of *Two Stories*.

Virginia and Leonard Woolf are central to Hogarth Press productions not only because of their labour, intellectual production and initial reputations, but also through their relationships that fostered the Press in later years. In 1920 Leonard published *Empire and Commerce in Africa*. He worked as the literary editor of *The Nation* from 1923 to 1930. In 1930 "with Professor William A. Robson, he started *The Political Quarterly*, becoming its editor in 1932, a position he held until 1959" (Gaither xx). Further, between 1919 and 1945 "he worked for the Labour Party as secretary of two Advisory Committees, and from 1938 to 1955 he was a member of the National Whitley Council for Administrative and Legal Departments of the Civil

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[9] For a discussion of this term, see page 39.

Service" (Gaither xx). Leonard's political activities increasingly gave him political influence and he knew many powerful people, especially in later years. Lee notes that the "social and personal network on which the Hogarth Press drew was inextricable from literary journalism" and these connections of both the Woolfs placed them "at the centre of the literary power structures" (367). In the late 1920s and early 1930s the sales of Virginia Woolf's novels increased greatly. In 1933 she was offered an honorary degree from Manchester University, and in 1939 an honorary degree from the University of Liverpool. In 1935 she received a letter informing her that it was the Prime Minister's intention to submit her "name to the King with a recommendation that he may be graciously pleased to approve that you be appointed a Member of the Order of Companions of Honour" (Vincent qtd. in Daugherty 141). Though Woolf declined all of these honours, the offers indicate the regard in which she was held, and the desire of institutions to be associated with her.

Virginia Woolf's later fame attracted people to the Press offices and also drew aspiring authors to submit their work to the Hogarth Press. Authors who admired her wanted to be published by her publisher, and in a real sense, by her. Virginia Woolf's name was part of the imprint. The close connection between the people and the Press had mutual benefits. The status and cultural capital accrued by Woolf's writing is in part conferred on the Hogarth Press. She is part of the list as well as part of the imprint. The Press was also in many ways a very good publisher for her works, granting her not only freedom to write as she liked and a large input into their production, but also affording her works pride of place. Her books received priority treatment in their promotion and allotment of resources. Her works serve as symbolic markers of value and authentification for the Press as well. In looking at the whole sweep of her works produced at the Press a pattern emerges. Her texts, her name, and her power to consecrate were used at key junctures in the Press's development.[10] The connection between Virginia Woolf and whatever new thing the Press was doing began right from the start of publication with *Two Stories*. Woolf had the freedom to experiment with the type of writing she was practicing, and the Press began its characterization as modernist and artistic.

Woolf and her works are still largely the draw, and the justification, for scholars to study the Hogarth Press. Further, people are less inclined to collect Hogarth Press publications unless it is for a famous author. It seems that authorial involvement with a text is still more desirable than a publisher's involvement. The case of the Hogarth Press offers the possibility of Woolf's involvement as both author and publisher. Other early Hogarth Press texts seem valuable because Woolf herself was involved in their production; she touched them, and they are thus involved in another kind of consecration. What follows is an examination of the signification of paratextual elements of Hogarth Press books that take up these issues of consecration and authentification in other ways.

Signatures

The interaction of publisher and writer who are the same subject, the dual roles held by Woolf as both author and publisher—sometimes of the same text, but always in the cultural capital of her name—resulted in a kind of double signature, in particular a double authentification. The signature is in this sense in the attribution of a work to the author, putting her name on it. As Derrida writes, "a signature is always a yes, yes, the synthetic performative of a promise and a memory that conditions every commitment" (577). A signature is therefore a powerful tie to a person behind the text, particularly the author, and connects her/him to the reader. Yet the situation is even more complex. There are also the "politics of the proper name, of the signature, [that] function not only in critical interpretations of the text, but also in the way the text operates within a literary market. Put crudely, the author's name sells books" (Biriotti 10). Aaron Jaffe discusses how modernist authors (Eliot, Pound, Joyce, and Lewis) "mobilized their textual signatures—their authorial imprimaturs—into durable promotional vehicles for their careers" (3). Woolf's signature was also, literally, an imprint. Andrew Wernick distinguishes between two different conceptions of "author," "the concrete-historical individual" and "a name, an identification tag, which circulates independently of the phantom individual, and which functions at once as the signatured assertion of a property right, and as a vehicle for whatever significance, reputation, or myth […] that name has come to acquire" (87). Further, "From the point of view of the author's career" the "authorial name is promotional capital" and from the view "of the commodified literary product […] it is a promotional sign. That is: a sign with associative value […] which gives differential identity and appeal to a purchasable literary product" (Wernick 93). Thus, the author's name functions like a brand name, as does the publisher's name with a further degree of separation from the particular book. Some books were both "by Virginia Woolf" and "published by Leonard and Virginia Woolf," combining the author function with the publisher function. A book both written and published by Virginia Woolf could have great cultural authority, but it also laid her and the Press open to charges of vanity. When what the Press produced was their own books, it put the Woolfs in the precarious but potentially powerful positions of creators and consecrators of their own work. The Press could lose credibility if perceived as too insular, as too interested in the approbation they extended. The kind of consecration a publisher can do in lending her/his name to a book is altered and problematically interested in the book when that publisher has also written the book. One could also argue, however, that a writer of some stature, once recognized by both critics and other writers, could function as the good judge of writing talent that a publisher is supposed to be. The risk is proportionally greater the less recognized the author is.

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[10] The Press's decisions, patterns, and strategic use of Virginia Woolf's texts will be discussed in depth in Chapter Two.

Woolf seems to have been aware of the power of her signature. When asked in 1933 by Alan Bott of the Book Society to sign 300 copies for their special members she refused. Leonard Woolf wrote to Bott saying his wife "makes it a rule not to sign copies of her books except in the case of personal friends" (Reading 556). He goes on to clarify that "The case of a limited signed and numbered edition is of course an entirely different thing, for in that case every copy is sold as a signed copy. But there is not meaning in a signed copy of an ordinary edition except it be given to a personal friend or, if it is not for a personal friend, to increase its value to second hand dealers" (Reading 556). In this refusal she and Leonard show not only an understanding of the import and value associated with the personal authorial signature, but also her refusal of that particular type of commercialization. The signed copy of a book, like a limited edition, creates rarity that can translate into greatly increased economic value for a book. Certainly such a rule about signing books only for friends has a pragmatic element to it, but taken in the light of her interest in issues of public and private, as well as her political decisions regarding her manuscripts, which were sometimes sold or exhibited in support of causes, she was arguably making a statement, a refusal to further commodify and authorize that type of use for her books. Booksellers wanted the exclusive signed edition to create a hierarchy among their buyers. As we shall see, however, there were arguably deviations from Woolf's rule about signing copies of her books, and she certainly made use of the limited edition exception. She signed forty copies of *Jacob's Room* (1922) for type A subscribers, she signed *Kew Gardens* (1927), the limited first editions of *Orlando* (1928) *A Room of One's Own* (1929), as well as all copies of *On Being Ill* (1930).

The term signature can also refer to physical elements in book production, which also function as types of identification. A signature can refer to "a stamp, an impression" ("Signature," def. 3b), an identifying mark. It can also refer to "a letter or figure" printed at the foot of one or more pages of each sheet of a book to show their order for binding" (def. 5a) or to a folded printed sheet "as distinguished by such a letter" (def. 5b). Thus the term evokes a material kind of label as well as a personal, symbolic one, yet another instance of striking convergence of double referent book terms. The signatures of books can reveal stages of the book's production and signal the input of particular kinds of labour. Signatures, as binding guides, indicate how paper becomes pages. The signature marks "are assigned in sequence and serve three purposes prior to publication of the book": the compositor identifies "a forme by its signature mark," the "warehouseman is guided by them when folding sheets to form sections; and the machine binding operator follows the sequence when laying out sections" (Glaister 445). Signatures are not only instructions but also the product. A forme is the "type matter and blocks assembled into pages and locked up in a chase ready for printing," and when an impression is taken from a forme, "it is a signature" (Glaister 182). A signature then depends on the means of production, and, like an imprint, is a kind of identification.

Colophon

Also of significance is the colophon, especially when it was Leonard and Virginia Woolf who were the printers. To get a fuller sense of the term and its significance we must consider its history: "Continuing and expanding the habit of medieval scribes who liked to put their names […] at the end of a codex, the very first printers instituted what is known as the colophon" which contains "one of more of these items: the place and date of printing, the printer's name and device, the title (but not yet the author) of the book (Steinberg 146). A colophon is the "tail-piece" of a book and, according to Steinberg, "should therefore be applied only to statements which appear after the text, and its loose use for the publisher's name or device on the title-page is to be deprecated" (131). The loose use is again interesting especially when considering the role the colophon historically played as a marker of quality. The "early colophon fulfilled to some extent the function of a modern title-page" and it also "contained material which would nowadays be restricted to the blurb" (Steinberg 131). The praise in the colophon was for both the artistic merit of the work and the quality of the printer's work. For my purposes, the colophon will refer to the information informing the reader who the printer was. The colophon often occurs on the title page, or the next page of Hogarth Press books, though sometimes it appears at the back. It is usually smaller than the information about Hogarth Press publication. In the case of the Hogarth Press, when the colophon gives the information that it was Leonard and Virginia who had printed the book, it is given pride of place, on the title page of the book. As we shall see in the subsequent chapter, some names are more important in the colophon than others.

Imprint

One key element of particularly the publisher's peritext is the imprint as it functions as a trademark or brand name. An imprint is a "printer's or publisher's name [...] and other details of publication, printed in a book" ("Imprint," def. 2) or "a brand name under which books are published, typically the name of a former publishing house now part of a larger group" ("Imprint," def. 2). The Hogarth Press has been used as all three of those referents—as the name of the printer, the name of the publisher, and as a brand maintained after being subsumed by a larger corporation. Once again the term has fluid references, and in this case, they tend to increasingly favour the publisher over the printer. There are further referents for 'imprint' as well. Imprint is a typeface designed by Meynell and Mason, "Monotype series 101" (Glaister 241), which resembles Caslon. *The Imprint* was a periodical "established in January 1913 by Gerard Meynell, Edward Johnston [...] and J. H. Mason. Its aim was to raise the standard of printing" (Glaister 241). Further, an imprint also is, like a signature, an impression of type on a page. In addition to being a statement of identification of a publisher, "By extension, imprint can refer to the printed or published item itself" (Peters 199). Significantly, it can refer not only to producer (whether publisher or printer), but also to the *product*, the book produced. Collectors who are interested in the Press talk about collecting Hogarth Press imprints in an interesting move of synecdoche.

The title page of *Two Stories* combines the colophon with a statement of authorship and the imprint of the Hogarth Press. After the title of the work it reads: "Written and Printed / by / Virginia Woolf / and / L. S. Woolf / Hogarth Press / Richmond / 1917." Both Woolmer and Rhein misquote the first imprint, dropping Virginia's last name. The first imprint does not explicitly mention the role of publishing in conjunction with the Woolfs, but subsequent publications would. The Hogarth Press colophon and imprint are not frequently discussed in much depth. The index to Willis's *Leonard and Virginia Woolf as Publishers* does not include either "colophon" or "imprint." Woolmer records the imprints used and Rhein notes those of the handprinted books, but there is little or no commentary on them. Lee states that "their joint names became the sign of a marriage which was also an imprint" (363). The wording of the imprint would continue to change over time, one element charting the Press's growth and the signification of the publishers. Leonard notes that their "usual imprint on books printed by [them]selves was 'Printed and published by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at The Hogarth Press' and on books printed for [them] by a commercial printer 'published by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at The Hogarth Press" (*Downhill* 66). There is, however, considerable variation in the imprint over time, which this statement covers over.

Early variations were more substantial. The imprint for Mansfield's *Prelude* (1918) reads, "Hogarth Press / Richmond" and, in more traditional form, the colophon is placed at the end of the book. On "the last page of text is stated 'Printed by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press" (Woolmer 5). *Kew Gardens* (1919) too has the separation of imprint from colophon. In this case, "Apparently the Woolfs forgot to add their last name when setting the colophon, and on page 16 the statement 'Printed by Leonard & Virginia at The Hogarth Press, Richmond' is changed by a cancel-slip to 'L. & V. Woolf'" (Woolmer 6). Lee notes, "It was as though they had not yet decided if these books were for private or public sale" (363). The imprint for Eliot's *Poems* (1919), however, reads, "Printed & published by L. & V. Woolf at The Hogarth Press, Hogarth House, Richmond" (Woolmer 5). Variations in the use of the ampersand or the word 'and,' as well as the inclusion of commas, or differences in the specificity of location, were common. At times, there is no mention of publishing. For example, both Mirlees's *Paris: A Poem* (1919) and Forster's *The Story of the Siren* (1920) have on their title pages "Printed by Leonard & Virginia Woolf at The Hogarth Press, Paradise Road, Richmond" (Woolmer 6-7). Frank Prewett's *Poems* reads, "Printed & Published / For the Author / at / The Hogarth Press / Richmond" (Woolmer 11): the names of the Woolfs do not appear, though they handprinted and published the book. This imprint distances the Woolfs from the book to a greater degree than the more typical imprint.

When the Press first published books from the International Psycho-Analytic library, they "acquired the bound and unbound sheets" for four books which then contained the imprint "The International Psycho-Analytical Press London Vienna"

(Woolmer 13). As the unbound sheets were bound, they received "the Hogarth Press imprint on the covers and the dust jackets. The first volume in the series to be printed in England and to have the Hogarth Press imprint on the title page was volume II of Freud's *Collected Papers*" (Woolmer 14-15), which appeared in 1924. After this point, books in the Psycho-Analytic library appeared with the joint imprint "Published by Leonard & Virginia Woolf at The Hogarth Press, 52 Tavistock Square, London, W.C. and The Institute of Psycho-Analysis" (Woolmer 26).

The year 1924 also marked the move from Richmond to Tavistock Square, for both the Woolfs and the Press, and the imprint reflects this. By this time the imprint was more stable, though small variations continued, particularly in punctuation and the use of the ampersand. The imprint again underwent a major change when Virginia sold her partnership in the company to John Lehmann in April of 1938. As Lee notes, "'The Hogarth Press', simply, replaced the two names on all publications" (815). Five books in 1938 still carried the more personal imprint; the last book to have the Woolfs' names on the title page was Dr. René Laforgue's *Clinical Aspects of Psycho-Analysis*, published in May of 1938 (Woolmer 149). Another significant change occurred to the imprint in 1939 when the Press premises moved to 37 Mecklenburgh Square. Even after the premises were bombed, and the Press relocated to the Garden City Press premises in Letchworth, the imprint continued to read the London address. The imprint's location did not change again until 1946 when the Press joined Chatto and Windus and moved to their location, 40-42 William IV Street, London, W.C. 2.

The lack of fixity demonstrated by the imprint is typical of the Press and occurred in various levels of Hogarth Press production. There is variation in the linguistic texts themselves, the covers, the choice of paper, the size of books, and even in business practices that produced those books. There is a fluidity that is remarkable and will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The Press often shunned uniformity and the imprint's variation communicates this, along with other subtle variations in message. The Hogarth Press imprint enacts the multiplicity that the Press valued.

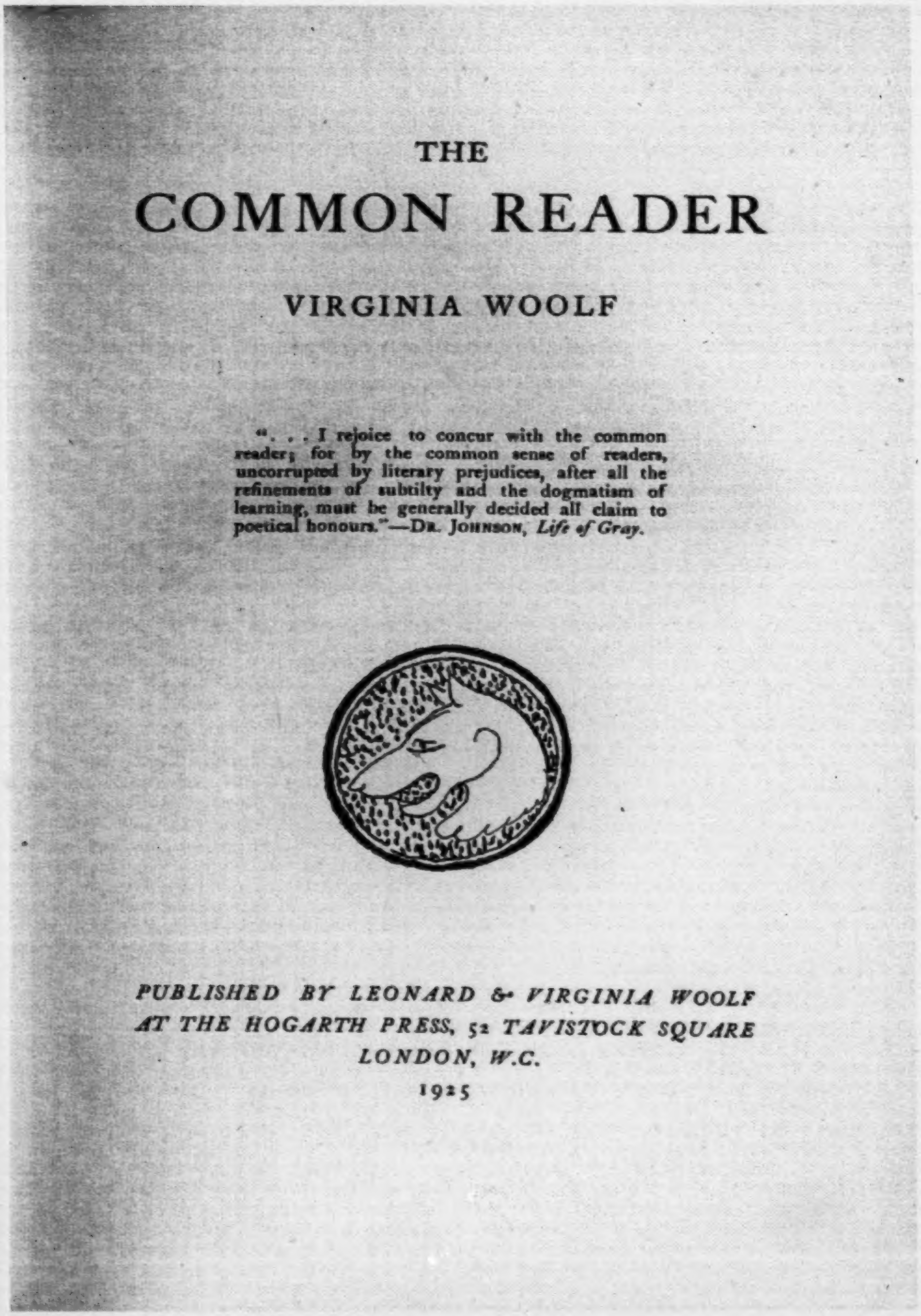
Logo

As Steinberg notes, "Usually printed after the colophon, devices or printers' marks have also been used from the very beginning of printing. The identity of printer and publisher soon turned them also into publishers' devices. The purpose was the same: to serve as a hall-mark of quality, and to safeguard what later became known as copyright" (132). Publishers have generally, then, usurped the printer's device for a publisher's, as the term colophon has been misapplied to mean publication information. The signs of the publisher encroach and cover over the marks of other producers of a book.

The device, or logo, is both a sign of ownership and a legitimation of the book. Similar to the logo is the trademark, which acts as a "pledge of good faith to [the] customer" (Preston and Arch 26). The "Mark is [present] as undisputable evidence of the origin and merits of the article in question" (Preston and Arch 27) and must be transferable, a unifying element among various objects. In the case of a publisher's logo on a book, the merits are not so much an issue of the physical quality of production, although that can be part of the appeal, as of the characterization of the content of the book. A logo helps to communicate to the consumer what to expect, and in the case of the Hogarth Press, confers some symbolic capital onto the new publication. There do not appear to be any printers' devices on Hogarth Press books, but what is prominent is the publisher's device: the wolf's head.

The logo has a material component, an image and a visual signifier. It is a bibliographic code though not a frequent topic of study in works on the Hogarth Press beyond a brief mention. There are two versions of the Hogarth Press logo. The first appeared in 1925 and was designed by Vanessa Bell. It is a depiction of a wolf's head, enclosed in a medallion. Bell's device was not used throughout 1925, however. In December, the Press handprinted and published George Rylands's *Russet and Taffeta*, a book dedicated to Virginia Woolf. On its title page the wolf's head device appears above the imprint, in its usual size. Rhein states that in this publication "is the first use of the wolf's head" (29). Its first appearance, however, according to Peters, is on Virginia Woolf's *The Common Reader*, published in April, where "it appeared in a larger size than elsewhere" (200). Other April publications, such as Nancy Cunard's *Parallax*, do not have the device. *Mrs. Dalloway*, published in May of 1925, has the "Wolf's head printed on [the] title page" (Beekman 15). Thus, the launch of the new logo was done on books authored by Virginia Woolf, furthering the association between Woolf and the Press. The use of the device became common, though not consistently present on all subsequent publications.

E. McKnight Kauffer designed the second logo. Kauffer's device is "a strong, nearly abstract animal head more like a wolfhound than a wolf but unmistakably bold



THE
COMMON READER

VIRGINIA WOOLF

"... I rejoice to concur with the common reader; for by the common sense of readers, uncorrupted by literary prejudices, after all the refinements of subtilty and the dogmatism of learning, must be generally decided all claim to poetical honours."—DR. JOHNSON, *Life of Gray*.

PUBLISHED BY LEONARD & VIRGINIA WOOLF
AT THE HOGARTH PRESS, 52 TAVISTOCK SQUARE
LONDON, W.C.
1925

The first appearance of Bell's logo

and modern" (Willis 376). The new device[11] first appeared in an advertisement in 1928 (Willis 376) and continued to be used for advertising purposes. The device was also used for the Day to Day Pamphlet series, started in 1930. The series, focusing on current issues, was a good match for the new-look logo. Kauffer's device did not completely replace the Bell device, however. Woolf's novels continued to feature Bell's logo on their title pages: the first editions of *To the Lighthouse*, *Flush*, and *The Years* all have Bell's wolf's head on them. Reprints of the novels often have no device; they are at a greater distance from the Woolfs and each novel has already been launched. Reprints, also, are not reviewed thus making the close association with the publisher less important at the later point in time.

The Hogarth Press logo has a very condensed meaning. The choice of device invites a close association with the people involved, as does the choice of the name Hogarth. Part of the logo's reference is to who the Woolfs are, to their reputations. Gaither argues the "fame [the Press] has achieved has been the result of its very close identification with its owners" (xvii). The choice of device invites the pun Woolf's head. Though the device would conventionally be read as metonymy in the sense of one element being associated with another, in White's discussion of tropes and their logic, this particular logo fits with his discussion of synecdoche. He writes that in synecdoche, the relation is "microcosm-macrocosm" with a "*quality* shared" (35). Synecdoche is integrative, "suggesting a qualitative relationship among the elements of a totality" (36). That is, the elements possess the same character, or essence, and can therefore represent each other. The wolf's head stands in for the Woolfs. The device also stands in for the Hogarth Press more generally and in this asserts that the essence of the Press is the Woolfs.

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[11] See a copy of the Kauffer logo in Chapter Four, page 171.

One might think of the Press as the third Woolf, the press/child, to whom they gave their name. Lehmann writes, "the truth was that both the Woolfs, but in particular Leonard, had an emotional attitude towards the Press; as if it were the child their marriage had never produced" (33). To publish means to "issue," produce, and give birth to. It is well documented that Woolf thought of her books in some ways like children, but the means of giving them life was through the Press.

Chapter Two

The Material Practices of the Hogarth Press: Business Decisions, Labour, and Capital Investment

The Hogarth Press between 1917 and 1941 enacts the history of printing. From its beginnings using technology of the previous centuries, and some that predates moveable type, its early years were also reminiscent of the private presses of the eighteenth century, which produced a finished product and sold it. In subsequent years the Press engaged twentieth century technology and became an increasingly commercial publishing business that divided its functions by contracting out the elements of production and selling the products to booksellers. For this reason, this chapter uses a chronological approach. By focusing on representative moments I will demonstrate the various stages of the Press as defined by the types of decisions—what books to publish, the number of copies, the price—and manufacturing practices, the input of various people's labour, as well as the investment of capital. In doing so, disjunctions, as well as continuities, of the Press appear. What also becomes evident is that the manufacture of a Hogarth Press book is complex and elements of its production are often covered over: the publisher's imprint and printer's colophon can be an advertisement, for example. Further, the decisions and stages of the Press reveal the strategic and remarkable use of Woolf's texts. Virginia Woolf both defines, and is defined by, the Hogarth Press. The material practices of the Press show the importance of origins and the way certain elements of production are covered by others, both by the Press itself and subsequent critics, through the negotiation between competing discourses. The Hogarth Press is also defined by its list—who and what they published. Virginia Woolf is certainly of central importance, but her works appeared in the context of the larger Hogarth Press list. The shifts between stages of the Press are accomplished by means of Virginia Woolf's books.

This chapter considers the business practices of the Press: business philosophy, publishing decisions, and contracts. The Hogarth Press is the centre of a hub of other businesses involved in book production. It is the centre in that it is the seat of decision making, though it does not control all decisions. Tracing some of the networks of production will reveal the multiple people and institutions involved in the physical manufacture of the books under the Hogarth Press imprint. In a 1967 interview with Leonard Woolf, Malcolm Muggeridge asked the telling question, "I think you must be almost the only person who has succeeded with a one-man publishing venture?" and Woolf replies, "Well, I don't know about the only person" (qtd. in Noble 256). The Hogarth Press was certainly not one man, or even two people, but from the first a collection of people, their skills and their labour. Some people's contributions are far more significant than others. The colophon on the last page of *Prelude* reads, "Printed by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press," and yet Barbara Bagenal recalls, "the title-page of Katherine Mansfield's story became my own effort" and that "Every morning I set up type" alone, and "Every afternoon Virginia helped me with the typesetting, and together we set most of the pages of *Prelude*" (qtd. in Noble 181). She also helped Leonard with the printing (Noble 181). Bagenal helped both with design and with production, yet her name does not appear on the book.

This chapter also considers the movement of capital in the Press, the investments and profits. These elements are central in sustaining a viable business and do impact the decisions of what to publish and in what numbers. In commercial publishing, "Although their business is also communication, what the publishers choose to communicate is contingent on the health of their business. If, on occasion, a publisher may be willing to publish something in which he has a particular interest, whether it shows a profit or not, any loss must be made up somewhere else" (Adams and Barker 16). The Hogarth Press is a hybrid institution, combining elements of the private press, the commercial publisher, and the highbrow press/small publisher, using the Woolfs' own capital as well as subsidies from authors and patrons, but also earning large amounts from some of their publications. Finances were a consideration, but they were certainly not the sole concern of the Press. The Press practices show how commercial increases are countered by noncommercial decisions. This chapter functions as a companion to Chapter One, giving the material production side, defining the Press again, this time by what it does, rather than what it is symbolically.

Book History

Principles of book history are useful for this study, but in order to suit this particular project, the circuits of production require some modification. As the object of study is the institution of the Hogarth Press, rather than a particular text, multiple texts will be examined and patterns must be generalized and extrapolated from their production to better understand the publisher. I am characterizing Hogarth Press texts based on the circuit of production to understand what the Hogarth Press meant as a brand and imprint, but it is not possible to provide the details of production for each text. Priority is given to Press activities over those of other businesses and of Leonard and Virginia Woolf over those of other people. The Woolfs are central to the production not only by their labour and intellectual production, but also through their reputation and the personal relationships that fostered the Press. Key examples, however, allow for useful broader characterizations and a number will be given to help define the Press by its practices and list over time.

Adams and Barker name publishing as "the point of departure, the initial decision to multiply a text or image for distribution" and it includes the "author, patron (or financier), manufacturer and distributor" along with the reasons for publishing "creation, communication, profit preservation" (15-16). Leonard and Virginia Woolf were sometimes the authors, but they were always—to varying degrees—the patron and financier, sometimes also the manufacturer and distributor. In this way the Press recalls earlier stages in print and publishing history. Adams and Barker note that the "word 'publisher' is anachronistic, except for the last century, and conceals a tissue of complex relationships between the roles of patron, printer, stationer and bookseller" (12). As a hub for decision-making, a study of a publisher means the need for the inclusion of a combination of people and practices. The definition Adams and Barker provide for publication does, however, reveal the difficulty of defining the act and determining what to include within it. Manufacturing "is primarily a matter of technology and economics" (Adams and Barker 18) which is dependent on the decision to publish, asserting again the central role of the publishing institution. Adams and Barker also mention the importance of labour in manufacturing texts where it has "an overt effect, the product of its special skill" (22). Here we see the inclusion of craft, the artisanal production of books, which the Hogarth Press was involved in, along with its publishing duties and this chapter highlights the blended practices.

Some aspects of this chapter, therefore, partially leave the realm of the publisher proper and enter that of printing/manufacturing, but the two elements, deciding to publish and making a book are intimately inter-related, especially when the Press functioned as both publisher and printer/manufacturer. Hogarth Press practices encompass acts that fall under the heading of publication as well as of manufacture as defined by Adams and Barker, or the roles of publisher and printer as defined by Darnton.[12] To separate the stages when looking at the Hogarth Press would be not only difficult, but rather arbitrary and less useful than examining what the Press did first and what category it falls under second. Further, manufacturing considerations affected the Press list and other publishing decisions and vice versa. Studying an institution means looking at various production practices over time, as well as what it produces. The publications and the nature of the publisher mutually inform each other. As the Press list grew, less manufacturing was done by the

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[12] My analysis makes use of the communications circuit involved in book production developed by Robert Darnton as well as the "five events in the life of a book" (15) developed by Adams and Barker. The hybrid model I am proposing is useful because each model allows for the inclusion of various elements: Darnton's the various people involved and Adams and Barker the various elements of material production focusing on the book as object.

Hogarth Press, the Hogarth press, and its members.[13] The change in types of manufacture is one key part of the changing business and connections with other businesses and producers. The stages of the Press reflect the changing nature of both publishing and manufacturing practices, but it is important to note that early practices have lingering effects on the way the Press has been and is understood. Key threads I will follow include the use of handprinting, commercial printing, personal involvement in book production, and the strategic use of Virginia Woolf's texts.

I have mapped out five stages of development and expansion. The first stage is from the start in 1917 and lasts until 1919. It is given somewhat disproportionate attention because of the enduring impact of the early practices on the general characterization of the Press, and these years offer fruitful examples of the complexity of book production. The second stage from 1920 to 1923 includes a new printing press, the hiring of salaried employees, a significant increase in the number of titles produced, and in 1923 the end of the subscription method of distribution. In 1924 the Press moved from Hogarth House to 52 Tavistock Square. The third stage from 1924 to 1930 includes new series, the first logo, and significant sales and profits. In the fourth stage 1931 to 1937 the Press acquired a new printing machine, produced greater numbers of titles, and continued to increase the scope of its projects. The fifth and final stage examined here spans 1938 to 1942. During these years Virginia Woolf sold her share to John Lehmann, the Press adapted to wartime conditions, and then the Press was without Virginia Woolf, except in print form.

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[13] It is important to maintain distinctions between the Hogarth Press, which refers to the publishing and printing institution; the Hogarth press, which refers to the printing machine; and the people involved. See Chapter One.

Stage One 1917-1919

Chapter One discusses the start of the Press, but what is of particular interest here is the early technological capabilities as well as the practices of the Press. In the early days of the Press the events of publishing and manufacture were intimately connected and were mostly accomplished by Leonard and Virginia Woolf within their home. Over time, the publishing aspect of the business increased and Virginia and Leonard remained centrally involved, while the manufacturing aspect lessened, but did not disappear. The first press was "an ordinary platen design" which "could print one demy octavo page on it, and [...] could just squeeze in two crown octavo pages" (*Beginning* 234) so early printing was necessarily slow and rather labour intensive. The Woolfs printed six books on the small hand press between 1917 and 1919, though the case of the printing of Mansfield's *Prelude* is a bit more complex. They bought some Caslon Old Face type and a "small quantity of Caslon Old Face Titling type" (*Beginning* 236) for printing covers. The start of the Hogarth Press establishes it as a printing business as well as a publishing company.[14]

The production of the first book, *Two Stories*, is very personal: written, printed, bound, published, publicized and distributed by the Woolfs themselves. Yet even from the start their was labour from other hands. The Woolfs, according to Bagenal, "had sewn the pages and [...] cover together with a darning needle and thread. As there were more than 120 copies it must have been a very tough and tedious job and I think that Nellie and Lottie might well have helped with some of the sewing" (qtd. in Noble 180). Nellie and Lottie were servants of the Woolfs, and if they did participate in the Press, their help has been little acknowledged. The understanding of *Two Stories* must be continually revised in light of a fuller sense of its production.

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[14] For the distinction between a printer and a publisher, and a discussion of the definitions of terms, see Chapter One.

After the publication of *Two Stories*, the Woolfs' "idea was that, if this succeeded, [they] might go on to print and publish in the same way poems or other short works which the commercial publisher would not look at" (*Beginning* 235). As we have seen, the Press as a publishing concern was to be an alternative, defined in opposition to commercial publishers and taking up materials that were, ostensibly, marginalized and ignored. The first few books they published were short books of people they knew, and the Woolfs' own writing.[15] These early texts have been very influential in determining how the Press is thought of, in establishing a character. The success of the first publication also influenced the Woolfs to expand, and invest: "Encouraged by the profit, the Woolfs bought some more type and a guillotine in preparation for their next publication [*Prelude*]" (Spater 100).

Though J. M. Murry's *The Critic in Judgment* is often referred to as "their first venture into commercial production" (Spater 103), the second publication was a hybrid production, making use of the machinery of a commercial printer. *Prelude* by Katherine Mansfield was the next project in 1918, an ambitious one as it was "a 68-page book and [Leonard and Virginia] printed and bound it entirely with [their] own hands" (*Beginning* 237). Leonard estimates they printed 300 copies. He recalls, "Virginia did most of the setting and I did all the machining, though I did set when there was nothing to machine" (*Beginning* 237). This was the usual division of labour between them when handprinting. The manufacture of *Prelude* is somewhat exceptional because Leonard "did not machine *Prelude* on [their] small handpress [...]. [He] machined it on a large platen machine which printed four crown octavo pages at a time and which belonged to a jobbing[16] printer called McDermott" (*Beginning* 237) at the Prompt Press. However, the first "eighteen or so pages" (Willis 23) were printed on the Hogarth press. Not actually printed at Hogarth House, at least not all of the pages, this book is an interesting hybrid. A text, therefore, could be printed by Leonard and Virginia and published by the Hogarth Press but still use the machinery of the Prompt Press. The second press is not always acknowledged indicating that what is of primary interest is the labour of Leonard and Virginia Woolf. While the type for *Prelude* was being set, the Woolf's printed *Poems by C.N. Sidney Woolf*, a collection by Leonard's brother who was killed in the war. It was not offered for sale and the number of copies printed is not known. This is a more typical use of a private press. Thus, at the end of 1918, the Press had "made a small paper profit in each of its first two years, but this had involved the expenditure of hundreds of hours of unpaid work for an aggregate output of something less than 400 copies of the three volumes published" (Spater and Parsons 102). To this point the Press was arguably more a hobby than a business, though the Press was never clearly one thing. If it was a hobby, it was one that looked towards business opportunities.

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[15] The publications are *Two Stories* (1917), *Prelude* (1918), *Poems by C. N. Sidney Woolf* (1918), and in 1919 Eliot's *Poems*, Mirlees's *Paris*, Murry's *The Critic in Judgment*, Woolf's *Kew Gardens*, and *The Mark on the Wall*.

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[16] A jobbing printer is one who did "display and commercial printing other than bookwork, periodical and newspaper work" (Glaister 262). This means that though McDermott was a professional printer, his expertise was not in the making of books.

Unlike commercial printers, the Woolfs paid attention to the content of what they were printing. Leonard remarks that "Professional compositors, indeed all professional printers, do not attend to the sense of anything which they print—or so I was told by McDermott [...]. But as an amateur printer and also the publisher of what I was printing, I found it impossible not to attend to the sense" (*Beginning* 243). The dual roles of the Woolfs as authors and printers/publishers are partly why the Hogarth Press offers such a productive example of the various elements in book production. In the above example Leonard is interested in at least two senses, first as the publisher whose reputation and capital are involved, and the less "interested" interest of one concerned with art. A printer hired by a publisher would not generally have either type of interest.

The use of commercial printers began quite early. The hybrid case of *Prelude* has already been mentioned, but the first time the Press contracted a work out to a commercial printer was for J.M. Murry's *The Critic in Judgment* (1919) and they used McDermott, a printer with whom they had a personal relationship. However, Leonard helped with the handprinting at the Prompt Press, and he and Virginia bound the 200 copies themselves (Woolmer 6). Therefore this production too was a hybrid of the Hogarth Press and Prompt Press, but also in terms of the labour of Leonard and McDermott. This book, however, is under the colophon of the Prompt Press. The increasing involvement of commercial elements marks the transitions from the first to the second stage in the Press, but the personal and commercial elements are entangled from the second publication and the stages are not clearly distinct. In 1919 the Hogarth Press also published T.S. Eliot's *Poems*, which the Woolfs handprinted and bound themselves. According to Leonard, the "publication of T.S. Eliot's *Poems* must be marked as a red letter day for the Press, and for us" (*Beginning* 242). The Hogarth Press was a Modernist publisher and publisher of poetry, experimental, new and also important work.

As Leonard recounts it, the move from a very small and personal business to the more commercial instantiation of the Press was done only in response to external pressures. Significantly, the work that propelled the Press into its new stage, one that involved not only commercial printers and larger print runs but also strategic reprinting, was one by Virginia Woolf—*Kew Gardens*. The publication met with critical acclaim. A review in the *Times Literary Supplement* pronounced it "a work of art, made, 'created', as we say, finished, foursquare; a thing of original and therefore strange beauty, with its own 'atmosphere', its own vital force" (qtd. in Majumdar and McLaurin 67), and the Press received a sudden rush of orders. The first print run in May 1919 of about 150 copies was quickly exhausted and in Leonard's analysis, it "was impossible for us to start printing enough copies to meet these orders, so we went to a printer, Richard Madley, and got him to print a second edition of 500 copies, which cost us £3.9s.6d." (*Beginning* 241). Leonard's account makes the demand compelling, not questioning the need to meet it, the necessity of a quick response, or the results of doing so. A successful business must meet demand, but a hobby or a private press does not. The manufacturing became increasingly separated, delegated. Yet the Woolfs were still involved, "'cutting covers, printing labels, gluing backs, and finally dispatching'" (Spater and Parsons 104) *Kew Gardens*. The early financial arrangements were fairly simple and were not designed for maximum income to the Woolfs. So, "Following the precedent of their first publication, Virginia took nothing (except as a partner in The Hogarth Press) for her authorship of *Kew Gardens*" (Spater and Parsons 104).

It was the success of *Kew Gardens* "when [the Press was] suddenly overwhelmed with orders for the book from booksellers," that brought the Press "into contact with all the big and many of the small booksellers, both wholesale and retail [...]. *Kew Gardens* showed [Leonard] that [they] could, if [they] wished, publish a book commercially and successfully" (*Downhill* 66). Success is defined, at least in part, by the number of sales and money earned, as well as being able to meet demand. It is important to note that as it was a work of Virginia's that propelled the press into the commercial printing realm to a greater degree, the decision further cements the close association of the Press with her career. The sales of *Kew Gardens* also precipitated a significant publishing decision. The final book of 1919 was the first Press republication and the work re-released was Virginia's "The Mark on the Wall" from *Two Stories*. The Press saw "the expanded opportunity for the sale of Virginia's earlier writing and decided to reprint *The Mark on the Wall*" (Spater and Parsons 104). The Press ordered 1,000 copies of the ten-page story from the Pelican Press.[17] With the republication the Press was also contributing to Virginia Woolf's reputation and the importance of her writing as well as furthering the association between author and Press.

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[17] The Pelican Press was an "offshoot of the Victoria House Publishing Company" (Cave 187) started by Francis Meynell, who also founded the Nonesuch Press, aided by George Lansbury in 1916. Thus the Hogarth Press was early connected with another important figure in modernist publishing and printing and another Bloomsbury Press.

It is at this point Spater and Parsons pronounce, "almost overnight a pastime had become a business. Leonard must have felt so; he ordered a brass name-plate for the door at a cost of 10s.6d." (104). The "overnight" success came over three years, and the use of commercial printers had started earlier. The sense of unsought success remained with the Press, however. Strategically using Virginia Woolf's text to earn profits and mark new publishing practices would also be a continuing characteristic of the Press. It was a successful but not overt strategy for building a publishing institution.

In the first three years, the Press produced eight titles; seven were for public sale. Of the approximately 2,700 copies made for sale, 1,800 were authored or co-authored by Virginia Woolf. Out of the eight titles, seven were originally handprinted books. The exceptions were *Critic in Judgment*, and *The Mark on the Wall*—the commercial reprint of the originally handprinted text. The largest handprinted print run was *Prelude* at 300, but most were under 200 copies. The works sold for between 1s.6d (*The Mark on the Wall* and the first copies of *Two Stories*) and 3s.6d (for *Prelude*). According to Willis, the Press made £13.8.8 in 1917-1918, with no losses or salaries. In 1919, profits were £13.14.2 after paying out £5.3.5 (Appendix B). However, Willis lists only 6 volumes published in the first three years whereas Woolmer lists 8. Willis has likely omitted the C. N. S.Woolf poems not for sale but the other omission is unclear. As for early business contracts and expenses, the Press "usually paid the author 25 per cent. of the gross profits, and, where [the Woolfs] printed the books [them]selves, nothing was charged for printing and binding"

(*Beginning* 253). Early profits were due in part to considerable amounts of unpaid labour.

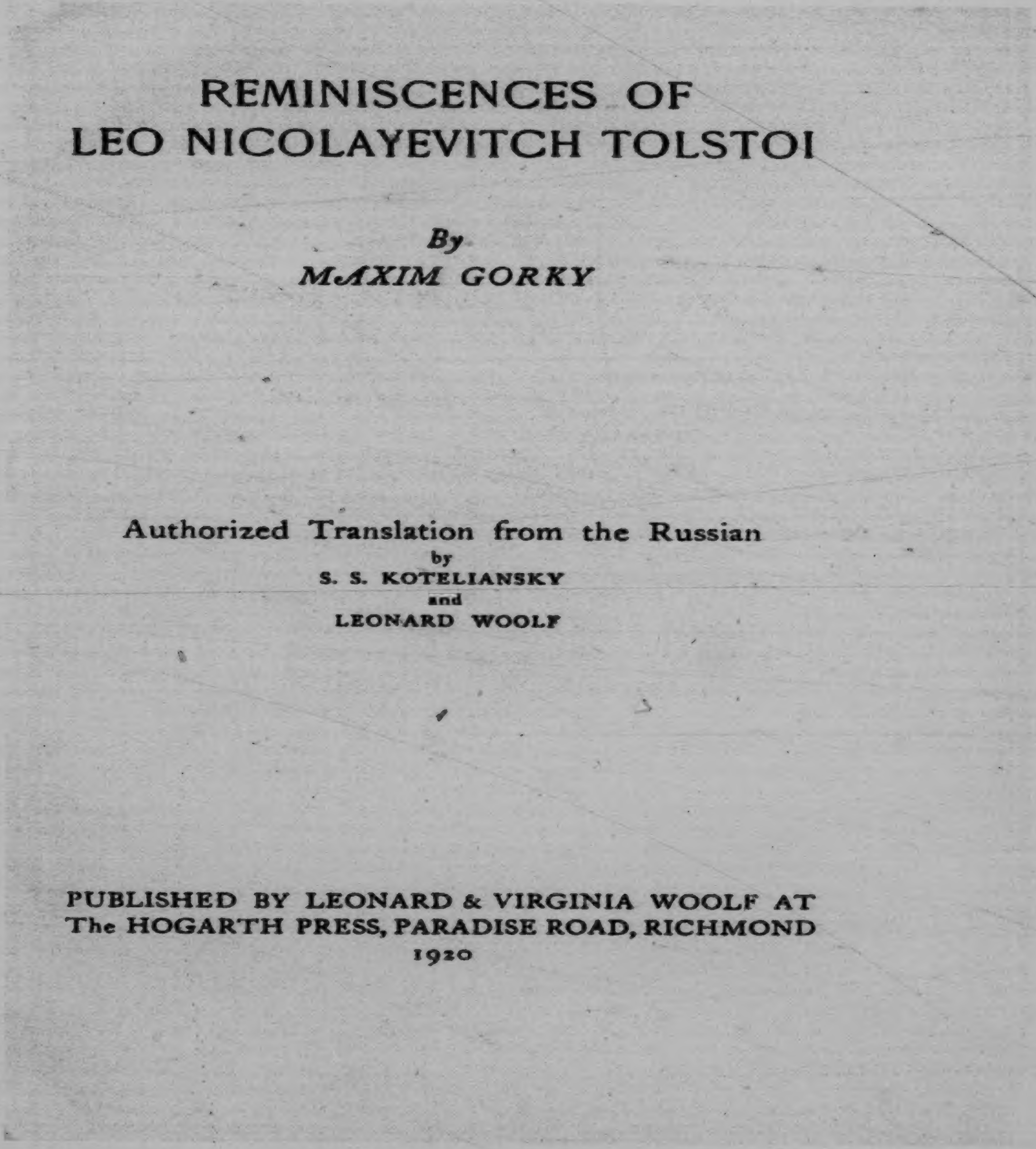
At Work at the Press and the press

The multiple roles that Virginia Woolf had in the production of books, and of her own books in particular, are central to an understanding of her work. She produced books as well as texts. Woolf's diary declaration, "I'm the only woman in England free to write what I like" (*Diary* 3: 43), frequently quoted by scholars, does not do justice to the complexity of the situation. Often in the production of books the artisanal labour is segregated from the artistic, but in the case of the Woolfs, at the beginning of the Press, various elements of production were more unified. While much has been made of some elements of Hogarth Press handprinting, other aspects of production have been under-examined. Even when books were sent out to commercial printers, beginning in 1919, the Woolfs, as publishers, had more control over the process than many artists. As Anna Snaith notes, "There was less separation between the creation, production and commodification of the text. Rather than the text being relinquished upon completion of the manuscript, thereby distinctly marking internal and private writing from public and external packaging, the stages were blurred by Woolf's ownership of her own press" (*Virginia Woolf* 45). Woolf was involved in binding and marketing those texts as well.

Further, Woolf's involvement with the craft of printing, her ink-stained fingers, had important implications for her identity both in terms of class and gender. Juliet Dusinberre writes that having "a printing press of [her] own" placed Woolf outside of the ivory tower and in "a new relation between amateur and professional which would suit women" (39). Dusinberre argues that Woolf "knew that when she printed her own works she was part of an alternative tradition in which outsiders from high culture—whether by choice or necessity—could speak with a free voice to readers beyond the pale of high culture" (35). One can gain credibility and make political statements both through the writing and making of books. Elliott and Wallace argue that for Woolf, "it is only outside of market considerations, with the help of her own press and the 'private criticism' of friends, that she can aspire to genuine literary substance" (72). Though outside of market considerations in one sense, being a publisher as well as an author put certain pressures on Woolf—as her career went so did the Press. The Press also offers Woolf, over time, the means to make considerable sums of money, which was for her both a goal and a source of enjoyment. A balancing act occurs within Press rhetoric and practices: to make money and art. Book production was in the traditions of the genteel hobby, genuine artistic production, a grounded professionalism, and the outsider's response to authority. A printing press of one's own is both elitist and democratic.

Stage Two 1920-1923

The increasing use of commercial printers, broader scope in the list, and larger print runs signals a new stage in the Press. Leonard notes that the "publication of Maxim Gorky's *Reminiscences of Leo Nicolayevitch Tolstoi* in 1920 was also another mile stone on the road of the Press towards ordinary, commercial publishing" (*Beginning* 247). The Press published 1,000 copies of the 71-page book and had them printed by



REMINISCENCES OF
LEO NICOLAYEVITCH TOLSTOI

By
MAXIM GORKY

Authorized Translation from the Russian
by
S. S. KOTELIANSKY
and
LEONARD WOOLF

PUBLISHED BY LEONARD & VIRGINIA WOOLF AT
The HOGARTH PRESS, PARADISE ROAD, RICHMOND
1920

Title page of *Reminiscences of Tolstoi* the Pelican Press. This was a much larger print run than anything previously done, besides the reprint of *The Mark on the Wall.* In 1920 they also published E.M. Forster's *Story of the Siren*, but this publication they printed and bound themselves, countering the move into increased commercial production with continued handprinting and personal involvement. Further, Gorky's book was also the first translation published by the Press. The book was both international and personal, as Leonard collaborated in its translation along with S.S. Koteliansky. Spater and Parsons note that Virginia "(and Leonard too) learned enough Russian to be able to assist Kot in the translations published by the Press from 1920 to 1923" (108). Leonard also worked on the translations of Gorky's *The Note-Books of Anton Tchekhov* (1921), Bunin's *The Gentleman from San Francisco* (1922), and *The Autobiography of Countess Sophie Tolstoi* (1922). Virginia helped translate Dostoevsky's *Stavrogin's Confession* (1922), *Talks with Tolstoi* (1923), as well as *Tolstoi's Love Letters* (1924).

Another significant change, "to allow the Press to expand and become professional, respectable, and commercial was bound up with another major decision" (*Downhill* 68), the decision to get salaried help. The Press hired Ralph Partridge in 1920. Partridge worked on a part-time basis, two or three days a week and "was paid a salary of £100 and 50 per cent. of the net profits" (*Downhill* 72). Two years earlier Barbara Hiles (Bagenal) had come to help with printing, but she was unsalaried.[18] Having an official assistant made it possible to expand production. Monetarily, "By the end of 1920 the total capital expenditure was £38.8s.3d. on the printing machine, type, accessories, and a paper cutting machine [...]. In the first four years, therefore, the total net profit was £90, but this was without any charge for rent and overheads" (*Beginning* 253). Part of the development of the Press occurred in November 1921, with the purchase of a Minerva printing machine, "a formidable monster, a very heavy, treadle, platen machine" (*Downhill* 72) that increased printing capabilities considerably. Four pages could now be printed at one time. At this point there was a new Hogarth press. The machine was so heavy McDermott recommended putting it in the basement rather than having it remain precariously in the dining room, over the cook's head (*Downhill* 72). The press required an investment of £70.10s.0d and to accompany it, "77 lb. of Caslon Old Face 12 pt. type" was purchased for £18.9s.5d (*Downhill* 72). The handprinting capacity was significantly increased and the new machine meant cleaner pages. The Press produced four handprinted books in 1921: Clive Bell's *Poems*, Roger Fry's *Twelve Original Woodcuts*, Frank Prewett's *Poems* (the only Canadian author published by the Press), and Leonard Woolf's *Stories of the East*. Leonard mentions that they bound Fry's book themselves (*Downhill* 75). Ralph Partridge helped with the printing, but once again his contribution goes officially unacknowledged. There are no Hogarth Press colophons that list any hands, or names, other than the Woolfs'.

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[18] Barbara Hiles came "three days a week, in return for lunch, tea, bus fare, and a share in any profits" (Willis 22).

1921 also saw the manufacture of Virginia Woolf's *Monday or Tuesday* with woodcuts by Vanessa Bell. In this collection "The Mark on the Wall" was republished for the second time and "Kew Gardens" was also reprinted. Also at this time "The Mark on the Wall" appeared "as a Chelsea Book Club reprint, with illustrations by Vanessa Bell" (Marcus 133). The Woolfs were open to the participation of other people in the production of their books. McDermott had expressed an interest to Leonard in doing a book for the Hogarth Press. Leonard and Virginia "had discussed bringing out a book of her short stories and sketches, but had felt that it would be too much for [them] to print [them]selves—and so, with considerable hesitation and certainly foolishly, [they] gave it to McDermott to print" (*Beginning* 240). As is evident from Leonard's account, Leonard was an active participant in the production of the book, and thus *Monday or Tuesday* is another hybrid production. It is not listed as being printed by Hogarth Press (in the imprint or in Woolmer's *Checklist*), though there is a note that mentions Leonard's help at the Prompt Press; its production is quite similar to that of *Prelude*, which was machined on McDermott's press by Leonard, but the title page of *Prelude* reads, "Printed by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press." In this case it seems that McDermott's intention to be the printer made him officially so, whereas Leonard and Virginia intended to be the printers of *Prelude* and are listed as such.

The Janus-faced Press

The Woolfs were pulled in two directions by the Press: "The truth was […] that we were trying to do the impossible, enjoy the best of two contradictory worlds. The success of the Press was forcing it to become a commercial publishing business" (*Downhill* 77) while the Woolfs wanted it to continue as amateur and part-time. The two contradictory worlds continued to exist in tension with one another and were a key to the success of the Press; it is to success that Leonard grants agency in the above account, and what was the result is presented as the cause. As Leonard "was not prepared to become a professional publisher" the Press remained a hybrid, was, in Leonard's words, "a mongrel in the business world" (*Downhill* 77). Leonard emphasizes the "amateur" elements in his account, as well as covering over the contributions of other people: "We ran it in our spare time on lines invented by myself without staff and without premises; we printed in the larder, bound books in the dining-room, interviewed printers, binders, and authors in a sitting-room. I kept the accounts, records of sales, etc., myself in my own way" (*Downhill* 77-78). Leonard writes this "looking back to 1923" (Downhill 77), when there was an employee and more "professionalism" than his account indicates. He further relates, "The organization and machinery of the Press were amateurish; it was, so far as Virginia and I were concerned, a hobby which we carried on in afternoons, when we were not writing books and articles or editing papers. We did not expect to make money out of it" (*Downhill* 78). On the other hand was the desire for producing high-quality books, circulating them, and the sense of the importance of what the Press was doing: "But at the same time we were already committed to publish full-length, important books, not only for Virginia herself, but also for writers whom we considered important. We felt to these writers and their books the responsibility of the commercial publisher to the author, we had to publish their books professionally and competently" (*Downhill* 78). The Press looked both to its (somewhat imagined) past and to its future.

The recurring question was, "Shall we give up the Press altogether or shall we make one more attempt to find a manager or a partner who will help us to run this commercial hippogriff on the lines on which we want it to develop?" (*Downhill* 79).

Arguably it was useful that the understanding, characterization, and decisions about running the Press were so unsettled as the result was continued evaluation and reevaluation. The Press did not stagnate or ossify into a single form but shifted between competing desires. There were two offers for taking the Press or part of its operations off the hands of the Woolfs in 1922, one from an American, James Whittall, and one from Heinemann. The Press turned down Whittall's offer of partnership because he was "too cultured" and they "did not want the Press to become one of those (admirable in their way) 'private' or semi-private Presses the object of which is finely produced books, books which are meant not to be read, but to be looked at" (*Downhill* 80). The managing director of Heinemann "offered to take over the whole business management of the Hogarth Press, distribution, accounting, advertising, and, if we wanted it, printing and binding. We should be left complete autonomy to publish or not to publish any book we liked" (*Downhill* 79), a solution if all that was of interest was authors and art. However, the Press turned down the offer because "We felt that we were really much too small a fly to enter safely into such a very large web" (*Downhill* 81). Thus, the Press had the opportunity for, and rejected, moves in either direction; they neither wanted more finely produced books and less open involvement with the market, nor did they want to join with a larger more commercial house. Either direction offered increased stability and decreased responsibility and autonomy, and neither offer was sufficiently appealing. The Press wanted to stay in the impossible position of the mongrel, neither this, nor that.

Jacob's Room

The publication of *Jacob's Room* was a major moment for Virginia Woolf's career and the history of the Press; this was the first Hogarth Press novel. As with many firsts, the expansion was done with a work by Virginia Woolf. This book was 290 pages in length, and the first print run was of 1,200 copies. They sold for 7s.6d each. *Jacob's Room* was printed the Edinburgh firm of R. & R. Clark Ltd., and the cost to print it was £138.16.7. The firm also bound the copies. The Press paid Vanessa Bell £2 for her cover design (I.Q.1.a). Leonard recounts this publication as

> the beginning of our long connection with one of the biggest and best of British printers and with their remarkable managing director, William Maxwell [...]. The moment he saw our strange, unorthodox venture into publishing, he became personally interested in it, and he took as much trouble over printing 1,000 copies for us as he did in later times over printing 20,000. (*Downhill* 73)

Hogarth Press books were thus well produced by a commercial printer, even when print runs were on a smaller scale. Leonard's account also makes the value of what the Press was doing and the books produced instantly recognizable. R & R Clark was also a financial choice as Scottish printers were able to undersell London printers due to "the low wages and small overheads" (Handover *Printing* 211). This firm would go on to print many titles for the Press over the years and most of Virginia Woolf's subsequent books. R & R Clark printed a second impression of 2,000 copies of *Jacob's Room* in the same year.

Rather than being paid a royalty, Virginia received a "one-third share of the profits" (*Downhill* 74) of the novel. The profits were £42.4.6 in this case, Woolf's share amounting to £14.1.5 (I.Q.1.a). For Virginia Woolf as both author and publisher of her own work, the financial arrangement was somewhat complex and involved certain sacrifices. Leonard remarks, "It is true that Virginia Woolf, the publisher, had to some extent swindled Virginia Woolf, the author" (*Downhill* 73). For *Jacob's Room* then, Partridge received fifty percent of the profits, more than Virginia Woolf as both author and publisher of the book.

In 1922 the Press also published its first books by Freud: *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* printed by The Society for Graphic Industry, Vienna, and *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* printed by K. Liebel, Vienna. After *Jacob's Room*, Freud's books, and the six other titles of 1922 another important shift occurred. In 1923 the practice of selling books by subscription[19] ended and the Press was, like "ordinary publishers, selling our books mainly to booksellers at the usual discount" (*Beginning* 237). However, in contrast with being "ordinary publishers" the Press handprinted six books this same year out of a total of fourteen publications. One of the handprinted books was Eliot's *The Waste Land,* which "expanded Eliot's British audience and helped to consolidate the Woolfs' reputation as publishers of modernist writing" (Marcus 126). Strategic publications are one way of advertising, marketing texts, and creating a reputation or brand without seeming to be doing so. Though Press announcements made it clear that the goal of the Press was to print that which would not otherwise be printed, the Woolfs were interested in publishing important art and honing a specific type of reputation/credibility.[20] This is one example of euphemistic advertising.

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[19] For an in-depth discussion of subscription practices, see Chapter Five.

Pharos and Pharillon, by E.M. Forster, was another handprinted book. It "was an 80-page demy octavo volume and we printed between 800 and 900 copies. Virginia, Ralph, and I set it up, and Ralph and I machined it. It was only just possible to print four pages at a time on the Minerva printing machine, so that Ralph and I between us had to treadle 22 runs of over 800 pages a run" (*Downhill* 75). This book required a significant input of labour, and though Ralph helped with the machining, the imprint reads, "Printed and Published by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at The Hogarth Press." Again, some hand labour is valued more than others, depending on the name and reputation attached. Further, this colophon and imprint emphasize that nothing has changed with the productions of the Press books, even as it expands. It is true in another sense that nothing has changed with book production—other people helped make the books, and went unacknowledged, from the start. When the first edition sold out in under a year, the Press had a second impression of 1,017 printed by R & R Clark in June of 1923 and the price was reduced from 5s. to 3s. (Woolmer 19). This was a common practice with handprinted books: when the first edition was sold out, a second, larger, commercial edition was ordered and sold at a reduced price, often with different covers so that the later editions were strikingly different books in their appearance.

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[20] Eliot's *The Waste Land* had already been published, in 1922, in *The Dial*, *The Criterion*, and in book form by Boni and Liveright, yet the Hogarth Press still published it in 1923.

In 1923 Ralph Partridge left the Press and Marjorie Thomson-Joad was hired. In that same year, "exactly five years after its birth, the total capital invested in the Press was £135, 2s.3d.—all of it for printing machines, type, and materials" (*Downhill* 72). In this stage of the Press there were thirteen handprinted books out 32 titles, two books by Virginia Woolf, two she helped to translate, and net Press profits of approximately £110.

Stage Three 1924-1930

The start of this stage is a significant geographic shift: "in March 1924 we moved from Hogarth House, Richmond, to Tavistock Square in Bloomsbury, and a new phase with rapid development began for our publishing" (*Downhill* 82). In this year the Hogarth Essays pamphlet series was started. Not surprisingly, the first of the Hogarth Essays was a work by Virginia Woolf, *Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown*.[21] The pamphlet cost 2s.6d and 1,000 copies were printed by Hazell, Watson & Viney. Another major step took place in 1924 as the Press became the "English-language publisher of Freud's work, and other psychoanalytic writings, taking over the publication of the International Psycho-Analytic Library" (Marcus "European" 337). The connection came about through James Strachey. The London Institute, which had been publishing the library, "had hitherto been their own publisher, printing and binding their books in Vienna and having them 'distributed' by a large London publishing firm. They did not find this system satisfactory and they wished to hand over to a publisher the entire business of publishing (*Downhill* 164). The Hogarth

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[21] This piece was actually a reprint of "Character in Fiction" which had been published in the *Criterion* in July 1924 (Kirkpatrick 33).

Press agreed to "take over the books which [the Institute] had already published, and publish all future books in the Library. For a fledgling inexperienced publisher this was a bold undertaking" (*Downhill* 165). The agreement also meant that the Press published the four volumes of Freud's *Collected Papers*, "a formidable work, for each of them ran to over 300 pages and it meant putting a good deal of capital into them," but this was a sound business decision as the "*Collected Papers* was from the start one of the most successful of [the Press's] publications" (*Downhill* 165). There was a steady market for these books that the Press recognized. The Press "circularized a large number of universities, libraries, and individuals in the United States and had almost at once a good sale in America as well as in Britain" (*Downhill* 165).

More expansion occurred in the list in other directions as well. In 1924 there were 14 publications and in 1925, 28. It was in this banner year of publishing, 1925, that Vanessa Bell's logo first appeared. At this stage the Press had not only increased the number of titles, but also the types of books it was publishing. The Press published books of poetry and novels, but also *The Story of the League of Nations Told for Young People* by Kathleen Innes and *The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill* by Maynard Keynes in 1925. There were books on art: *Cézanne: A Study of His Development* (1927) by Roger Fry, *The Nature of Beauty in Art and Literature* (1927) by Charles Mauron, and *The Revival of Aesthetics* (1926) by Hubert Waley. The Press also expanded "very strongly into politics, economics, history, and sociology. This last category was directly connected with [Leonard's] own activities" (*Downhill* 160) with the Labour Party, the Fabian Society, and the Women's Co-operative Guild. The Press published *A Woman of India: Being the Life of Sroj Nalini*

(Founder of the Women's Institute Movement in India) (1929) by G. S. Dutt, *The Anatomy of African Misery* (1927) and *White Capital & Coloured Labour* (1929) by Lord Oliver, and many others. There were also numerous titles in literary criticism: Edith Sitwell's *Poetry and Criticism* (1926), Allardyce Nicoll's *Studies in Shakespeare* (1928), and G. D. H. Cole's *Politics and Literature* (1929). Some of these titles were part of the Hogarth Lectures on Literature series.

The Press was "developing an enviable reputation as the publisher of unrecognised and unconventional talent [...]. The Press which had offered one book to the public in 1917, and three in 1919, offered 40 new titles in 1927. This volume of activity inevitably involved substantial modification in the original way of doing business" (Spater and Parsons 106). The changes include more employees. After Ralph Partridge left the Press there was Marjorie Joad (1923-25). While she was there Dadie Rylands worked at the Press for a few months in 1924 and he was replaced by Angus Davidson (1924-27). When Joad left, she was replaced, briefly, in 1925 by Bernadette Murphy, and then by Mrs. Cartwright who became office manager and stayed from 1925 to 1930. Mrs. Cartwright had an assistant to work as "file clerk, typist, and secretary" and this post was filled by "Winifred Holtby for a spell (1927-28) and then Peggy Belsher (1928-35)" (Willis 163).

Finances and Business Philosophy

Financial decisions were governed by a general business philosophy. Leonard espoused some of the underlying principles: "our object was, not to expand, but to keep it small" (*Beginning* 255). A smaller Press meant flexibility and freedom since

> too many publishers allow their 'overhead' to dictate to them the size of their business and the kind of books they publish. My theory was that the main object of a publisher, as business man, should be to keep his overheads as near to zero as possible, and, if he did that, he could forget about them and publish only what he wanted to publish. (*Beginning* 255)

The early publishing decisions were made with the goal, seemingly, of breaking even, though profits did increase over time. The Press used commissions and deals with authors to mitigate the possible losses while allowing for the publication of new and unknown authors and more experimental, less commercial works. Risks were taken, but were often balanced by supplementary financing of some kind. The content of what was being communicated was considered very important, but not all works of merit were accepted. In 1925, when Edith Sitwell offered Gertrude Stein's 990-page manuscript of *The Making of Americans* to the Hogarth Press, "Leonard offered to publish it on a commission basis; Stein declined, but the Woolfs did publish her financially feasible pamphlet *Composition as Explanation*" (Rosenbaum 155) in 1926. Rosenbaum argues:

> it is clear from the history of the Hogarth Press that Leonard did not care about making money. On the other hand he was damned if he was going to lose any, and that I believe is the key to the finances of the Hogarth Press. The Woolfs would publish what they thought was worth publishing—at least in the early years—but only if they did not lose money by it. (155)

Yet many publishing decisions can be read as an attempt to make money, not as the sole consideration perhaps, but careful attention was paid to market conditions. John

Houseman, a potential Hogarth Press author in 1925, recalls the meetings he had with the Woolfs. On his first visit they told him they wanted to publish his manuscript of *The Plains,* and on the second they offered him their terms. Leonard explained that "as a small house of very limited resources, they were in no position to assume the financial risk that a commercial publisher would normally take with the first work of an author of promise;" however, they did offer "to assume one third of the cost of publication if [Houseman] could supply the rest" (Houseman qtd. in Stape 116). Houseman surmises that

> It must have been my sudden look of dismay that caused Mrs Woolf to break in and explain that all her own books had been published in this way, including *Mrs. Dalloway,* which was about to appear. On the other hand, she could understand my reluctance at having to raise money for the publication of my first work; they offered to pass the manuscript on, with their recommendation, to Heinemann's, of which their close friend Desmond McCarthy was chief editor. (qtd. in Stape116)

Woolf's comment about the financing of her own books is interesting, though the situation of her being both author and publisher makes it more complex. Her level of investment in the Press, and the potential for return were both greater. The Houseman example does give a sense of how authors were dealt with and the terms of capital investment proposed for a new author. The Woolfs were helpful and not proprietary, offering to recommend the book elsewhere where they had connections.

To the Lighthouse

To the Lighthouse was published in 1927, the same year that the Press published a new edition of *Kew Gardens*, illustrated by Vanessa Bell. The print run of *Kew Gardens* was only 500 numbered copies and sold for 15s. As the success of *Kew Gardens* prompted the Press to republish *A Mark on the Wall* in 1919, eight years later, *To the Lighthouse* was followed by a republication of *Kew Gardens*. The publicity accompanying the publication and reviews of a new Virginia Woolf novel provided an opportunity to capitalize on the prominence of the author's name and to offer a second title while interest and demand would be heightened.

The Press published 3,000 copies of *To the Lighthouse* in May of 1927 at the standard price of 7s.6d. The book was printed by R & R Clark and bound by Ship Binding Works. The next month a second impression of 1,000 copies was done and a third impression of 1,500 copies in May of 1928 (Woolmer 60). Demonstrating keen awareness of market conditions, on March 23, 1928, the Hogarth Press wrote to R & R Clark asking for a reprint of 1,500 copies and a third impression because "the book has just been awarded the 'Femina-Vie Heureuse' prize, and we expect that there may be a run on it […]. When this impression has been printed, please take moulds[22] and then distribute the type" (Reading 572). *To the Lighthouse* won the Northcliffe prize in 1928 as well.

To the Lighthouse sold well, but as is often the case after awards and critical acclaim, the next work by the same author sells even better. Woolf's 1928 book

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[22] In stereotyping printing is done from a mould made from an impression of set-type; moulds are made of plaster or paper mâché so that the type can be redistributed and costs are reduced (Glaister 334).

Orlando: A Biography met with major sales success and greatly increased Press profits. The first Hogarth Press print run in October was 5,080 copies, the second impression was 3,000 copies, also in October, and a third impression of 3,000 copies was done in January (Woolmer 69).

Flexibility of Practices and Labour

Work at the Hogarth Press was generally collaborative and people were expected to do multiple jobs and take on various roles. It was a creative environment, though Leonard Woolf was meticulous about how certain things were done and was a demanding employer in some respects. As a smaller publisher, the Press had a number of strengths: it was meticulous in tracking details and efficient in responding to changes. Leonard asserts that

> the technical efficiency of the Hogarth Press in the years 1924 to 1939 was extremely high. For instance, for all those years, when we were publishing from 20 to 30 books a year, selling in the first six months of their existence anything from 150 to 30,000 copies, we practically never […] ran out of bound copies and were unable to supply an order. (*Downhill* 170)

Such efficiency required "meticulous daily, sometimes hourly, supervision, checking, organization" (*Downhill* 170). Leonard argues that for "the efficiency of publishing it is most important that the decision to reprint or rebind for every book on the list should be made at the right moment and for the right quantity so that there is always in stock an adequate number of bound copies to supply the demand" (*Downhill* 171). Publishing too many copies, more than could be sold, would also be detrimental to the publisher so hitting a precise target was the goal. With more titles and a larger scale of production, meticulous checking would become increasingly difficult.

Leonard, and later Press employees, kept very detailed business records. When a book was sold, the money earned was entered in triplicate into various cash ledgers as well as the status of book sales. Kennedy mentions this third ledger recording "the date, the name of the purchaser, number of copies sold, total number of copies of the book sold, including the sale just recorded and the amount of money taken" (74).

A smaller, more flexible operation also meant Press employees could try their hands at reading manuscripts or designing a cover for a book. Kennedy, for example, was sometimes given manuscripts to read and write reports on (Kennedy 68). Another Press employee, Miss Belcher, had in 1928 "secretly done a design for the cover of *Dawn on Mont Blanc* and has shown it to LW" while Kennedy had done his "own typographical design of thick and thin rules on pink paper" (Kennedy 31). John Lehmann asserts, "One of the advantages of the Press was that, being a small and very personal concern, there was no nonsense of rigid compartments. Everyone was expected to do everything, particularly the Manager" (13-14). This could result in creative collaboration and a cooperative approach to book production.

1929 and the Uniform Edition

The first edition of *A Room of One's Own* (1929) is worth noting. Perhaps fitting for a text about the importance of money and recognition for female artists, the first edition was a joint publication between The Fountain Press of New York, and the Hogarth

Press, issued in a limited edition. There were 492 "numbered and signed copies; the first one hundred copies for sale by The Hogarth Press in England, the balance for sale by Random House in America" (Woolmer 78). The price was £2.2s. At the same time, the first Hogarth Press trade edition was published at a price of 5s., and 3,040 copies were printed (Woolmer 78).

The publication of *A Room of One's Own* occurred alongside the launch of the Uniform Edition of Woolf's works, the only ongoing series publication of the Press besides the International Psychoanalytic Library. The Uniform Editions signaled, by means of a publishing program, Woolf's importance as an author. Both *The Voyage Out* and *Night and Day*[23] were published by the Hogarth Press for the first time in this year, a gathering together of her oeuvre and claim to importance under the names "Hogarth Press" and "Virginia Woolf." The Uniform Editions were less expensive than earlier editions. The novels usually cost 5s. in this edition. Leonard consulted Jonathan Cape about the plan to publish the complete collection. Cape's advice is very revealing about the need to construct and retain a niche in the market and to differentiate one imprint from others. Cape suggests, as a "friendly colleague" that the Press

> consider bringing out a five shilling edition instead of a three and sixpenny edition. Our experience with the collected work of Mary Webb at 5s. a volume is very encouraging, and there seems to be no hesitation on the part of the public to pay five shillings. If you publish at 3/6 you will come into

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[23] Both had previously been published by George Duckworth, Virginia's half-brother.

> competition with all the other pocket libraries such as the Travellers Library. Every publisher now publishes or has announced a 3/6 series. (Reading 546)

The books of the Uniform Edition were printed by Lowe and Brydon and bound at the Ship Binding Works. The Uniform Edition was not generally printed by the same printers who did the first edition of a book by Woolf. Later Uniform Editions were printed by the Garden City Press (while all first editions, save *Between the Acts*, the pamphlets and the handprinted books, were printed by R & R Clark). The paper was provided by Spalding and Hodge, and its purchase was rather eventful, even shaping the appearance of the Uniform Edition. Kennedy recounts, regarding the Uniform edition,

> LW explained to me that he proposed to have stereos made of the type in all Mrs W's books and to print from this and so avoid the cost of resetting. But as two of them have been printed for publishers other than ourselves, it is necessary to find a page size which is a common denominator for the different sizes of page that will give an adequate margin and not be too expensive. (79)

Mr. Gossling, the representative from the paper company Spalding and Hodge visited the Press while Kennedy was alone telling him "he had just dropped in to iron out a few small difficulties about the paper size for the Uniform Edition and that [Kennedy] could do it just as well as LW" (Kennedy 82). Kennedy's response, telling "him to do just what he thought best about the paper. After all, Spalding & Hodge make the stuff" (84), was a poor one. Leonard "returned from Rodmell in a towering rage. Apparently the whole Uniform Edition project has been ruined by [Kennedy] because [he had] unwittingly instructed Spalding & Hodge to cut the paper the wrong size"

(Kennedy 84). The paper was still used, but the size of the volumes was, ironically, not uniform. Press records show that the printers Lowe and Brydone were instructed to print *The Voyage Out* and *The Common Reader* on the small paper and *Mrs. Dalloway* and *Jacob's Room*, on the large (Reading 546).

The Press organization continued to grow, and "By 1930 [it] had a clerical staff of three bookkeepers and a shorthand typists" (*Downhill* 169). It was also in 1930 that the Press had a major best-seller, Vita Sackville-West's *The Edwardians.* Leonard recalls proudly that he had " always been doubtful about this 'machinery' of publishing and was pleased to find that the machinery of the Press stood up to the strain of a best-seller" (*Downhill* 158). The first print run was of 18,000 copies, in May. In June a second impression of 3,000 copies was printed and in September a third impression of another 3,000 (Woolmer 86). In July of 1931 3,000 more were printed and then the Press issued a cheap edition in 1932 for 3s. 6d (Woolmer 86). This publication contributed substantially to the profits of the Press and "by the end of a year the Press had made a profit of nearly £2,000 on [*The Edwardians*]" (*Downhill* 158). An interesting contradiction, and complement, to the very large sales of *The Edwardians* was its publication as a limited edition in May, at the same time as its first trade edition. The limited edition was printed by R & R Clark, as was the first trade edition, but the bindings, and the price, were different. Copies in the limited edition of 125 copies, numbered and signed, were 25s., whereas the trade edition sold for 7s.6d (Woolmer 86). As Virginia Woolf wrote to Molly MacCarthy, "after the Edwardians, (2 thousand in a month) we can manage a best seller as well as Heinemann, and with far greater distinction" (*Letters* 4: 177). The Press could handle the practical and commercial details of a large volume sale, but without sacrificing "distinction."

In this third stage the Press handprinted twelve books out of a total of more than two hundred titles. There were ten publications by Virginia Woolf. The size of print runs varied greatly. Though not all were recorded, the smallest of those known was fifty-five copies of Harold Nicolson's *Jeanne de Hénaut* (1924), which was not for sale (Woolmer 28). The smallest print run of a book for sale seems to have been the 100 numbered copies of Douglas Ainslie's *Chosen Poems* (1926). Often the initial print runs were of a few hundred copies, and books printed by Neill & Co. tended to be in this range. The most frequent first print run was 1,000 copies and runs up to 3,000 were not uncommon. Beyond that number are the exceptional books, *Orlando*, *The Edwardians*, and Keynes's *The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill* (1925) with a print run of 7,000 copies.

The Press made a profit every year. Between 1924 and 1930 profits grew from £3.[illegible]7.0 to £2,373.4.2, the major jump taking place after 1929 (where profits had been £580.14.8) (Willis Appendix B). Virginia Woolf, the author, was even more prosperous by this time. Lee notes, "With the increased sales of her books came more success for the Press [...]. By 1930 Virginia's income was three times more than the Press profits" (558).

Stage Four 1931-1937

In "1931 the hand-machine had been exchanged for a larger treadle machine that could sometimes be persuaded to work off the electric current [...] and was used mainly for rolling off the firm's writing paper, the invoices, royalty forms, review slips and rejection slips. That work was done by Leonard" (Lehmann qtd. in Stape 125-126). As only three books were handprinted in this stage, two in 1931 and one in 1932, the purchase of the treadle machine roughly coincided with the end of handprinting.[24] Press practices continued to be collaborative: "John, Virginia, and [Leonard], as well as the 'staff', were expected to be able to take a hand at any and everything, including packing—indeed, we all became expert packers" (*Downhill* 173). In 1932 John Lehmann was taken on as manager. His duties were far ranging. Lehmann had to "deal with authors who came to see us (except Leonard's special political cronies), write to them about their manuscripts, comb the reviews for useful 'quotes', design advertisements to exact specifications, prepare sales leaflets, make up estimates, and keep an eye on the stocks of books that were enjoying a steady demand" (Lehmann 14). He was also asked to "read the mss for the purpose of preliminary sifting out and [was to] endeavour to get promising authors for the Press" (Lehmann 36). Lehmann was also valuable for his youth as the Woolfs wanted "to keep in touch with the younger generation or generations," and "in the two years during which he was with us he helped us to bring into the Hogarth Press some of the best writers of his generation" (*Downhill* 174).

Virginia Woolf's Roles at the Press

Studying the practices of the Press reveals Virginia's involvement with everyday operations of the press, and that her role was greater than has been sometimes supposed. Virginia's participation in the manufacture of the books included a number of elements. Porter asserts that Leonard was "involved in the minute details" of Press workings and that "Virginia Woolf was no less involved" as she did "typesetting, proofreading, finding, stitching and sewing covers" as well as being involved in "getting books to the public, answering inquiries, identifying possible subscribers, travelling, wrapping and mailing copies" ("Virginia Woolf" 277) of Press books. In addition to book production, she also wrote advertising copy at times. She was a full partner in the Press and participated in publishing decisions. Lehmann states, "Virginia read and gave her opinion on all the literary manuscripts offered to the Press, though I don't think she bothered about the purely political or socio-political manuscripts which she considered entirely Leonard's province" (17). Virginia Woolf was also creative and innovative as a publisher, "always bubbling with ideas, longing to launch new schemes and produce books that no one had thought of before, that would startle the conventional business minds of the book world" (Lehmann qtd. in Stape 127). Virginia's contributions to the philosophy and publishing decisions of the Press have often been overlooked, as the tendency is to attribute everything related to the business to Leonard. This assumption does not stand up to scrutiny.

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[24] Most of the handprinted books were, therefore, produced on the Minerva platen press, with a few of the earlier works done on the small table-top press

A study of Woolf which privileges the roles of printer and publisher is a new way of positioning her that focuses on an as of yet little explored aspect of her political activities, those involving the later stages of textual production and not just initial authorship. Woolf's role at the Hogarth Press allowed her, among other things, extensive access to her texts for revisions. To date, there remain British editions published in Woolf's lifetime, and particularly the Uniform Editions, yet to be examined for variants. Julia Briggs notes that "surprisingly little attention has been paid to [Woolf's] practice as a reviser of her own work" and that "we need to know more about Woolf as reviser, a role in which she reveals herself both as a modernist and a feminist" ("Between the Texts" 144).

What Woolf did was important, but so, increasingly, was who she was. She "was, indeed, one of the reasons that several of [the employees] came to the Press. But possibly her most important function was that of attracting new authors and critically reviewing the manuscripts they submitted" (Spater and Parsons 109). Woolf herself was a draw for employees and for authors. People wanted to be published by the publisher of Virginia Woolf, in fact, published by Virginia Woolf. Further, Woolf's ability to gauge a market, and to write for it, becomes evident through her biography of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's dog.

Flush

Flush was written, in part, to sell.[25] In a letter to Vita Sackville-West, Woolf mentions that in writing *Flush* she hopes "to stem the ruin we shall suffer from the failure of *The Waves*. This is the worst publishing season on record. No bookseller dares buy" (*Letters* 4: 380). Woolf's thoughts about writing were clearly not always outside of market considerations. Though the desire to make money is purported *not* to be the central concern of the Press, practical considerations were important since the Press was a main source of income for the Woolfs during the 1930s.

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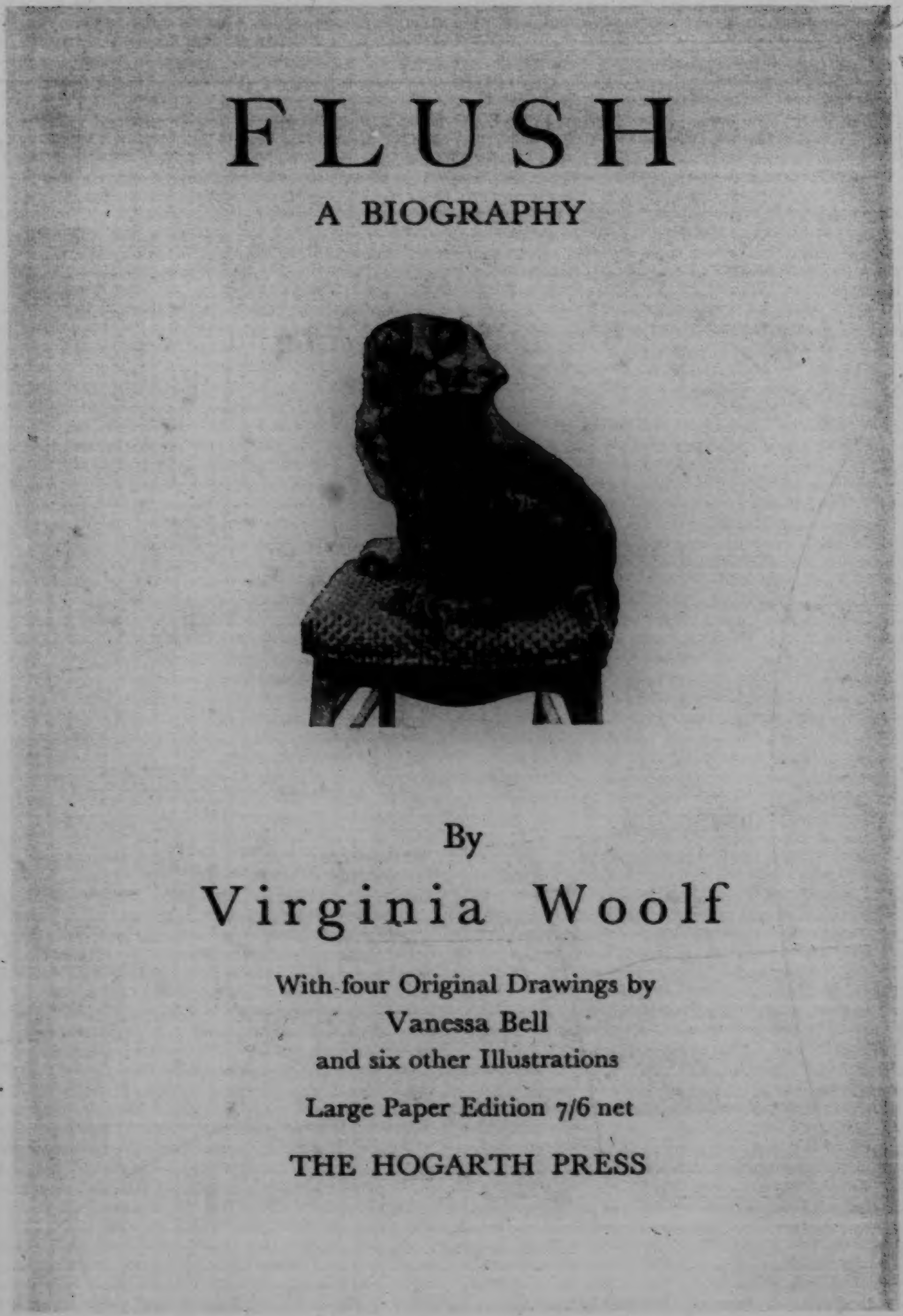
[25] The advertising and distribution of this book further emphasize this as discussed in Chapters Three and Four. The practices are yet another example of the trailblazing done with Woolf's books.



FLUSH
A BIOGRAPHY

By
Virginia Woolf

With four Original Drawings by
Vanessa Bell
and six other Illustrations
Large Paper Edition 7/6 net
THE HOGARTH PRESS

Dust-jacket of *Flush*

Some of the more unusual aspects of the manufacture of *Flush*, as compared to other Hogarth Press texts by Woolf, were the simultaneous production of multiple versions and larger print runs. In October 1933 the Press printed a large paper edition of *Flush* in a run of 12,680 copies and a second impression of 3,000 copies in the same month (Steele xxv). One month later, on November 16th, they released 11,762 copies of a smaller Uniform Edition with fewer illustrations for less money. The production of the Uniform Edition shows the Press's value of frugality since the pages used were those first printed where errors were discovered. The sheets were cut down, the illustrations altered, an errata slip added and the books became the first Uniform Edition (Steele xxvi). In contrast, *The Waves*, published in 1931 and considered a "masterpiece," had 7,113 copies initially printed and the Uniform Edition did not appear until two years later. One possible explanation for the differences lies in the connection between manufacture, advertising and marketing decisions.

The Book Society chose the larger paper edition of *Flush*, at the price of 7s.6d, for its October selection and the archive shows they influenced some publication decisions. The Book Society asked for a delay in the publication of the Uniform Edition (until November 15) and that outside exports not be delivered before the dates of publication since their members objected if they saw copies in circulation before they had received theirs (Reading 556). This shows a perhaps surprising decreased independence on the part of a Press that prided itself on its autonomy. It is also a good marketing strategy to create a hierarchy of editions, some more desirable and collectable than others, stimulating demand by limiting supply of certain editions.

The Years

The Years was published in March of 1937 and priced at 8s.6d. The first print run was 18,142 copies (Woolmer 147). This was the largest initial print run for any of Woolf's novels up to that point, clearly anticipating significant sales and at an early date. Larger than the first print run of *Flush*, and three times the size of that of *Orlando*, the publishing decisions reveal the increasing stature of its author and the market for her work. Its publication was followed shortly by Woolf's appearance on the cover of *Time* magazine in America and, not long after, the book "made its way to the best-seller list in the United States" (Silver 79). In part the sales success of this novel is due to the increased advertising it received and this will be discussed in some depth in Chapter Four. What is important to note here is the Press's attention to, and ability to judge, the market for Woolf's work, as well as to stimulate it.

Even with large sales and financial success, personal aspects of the Press and production continued. Authors were often invited for tea, to evening gatherings, to Rodmell, mixing the social and professional. Rather than in specifically Press premises, business meetings were held in "the upstairs sitting room [of Tavistock Square]" (Lehmann 71). There were dangers of conducting a business in this way: "Even if no one could, in the end, accuse the Hogarth Press of unprofessionalism, they might—and would—accuse it of being too private a private press. The business always mixed the personal and the professional" (Lee 367). Charges of being too private apply, if at all, to the early years of the Press, and show how the early characterization and practices of the Press persist.

In this fourth stage, the Press produced 177 wide-ranging titles. Political and social issues were addressed in books such as *Life as We Have Known It: By Co-operative Working Women* (1931) edited by Margaret Llewelyn Davies, *A Letter to Adolf Hitler* (1932) by Louis Golding, and *Race and Economics in South Africa* (1934) by W. G. Gallinger. The Press also published *Saturday Night at the Greyhound* (1931) by John Hampson, the working class novelist, Christopher Isherwood's *Sally Bowles* (1937), and poetry by C. Day Lewis. During this stage the Press "acquired sole English rights for Rilke's poems, with the exception [...] of the *Duino Elegies*" (Marcus "European" 335). Six titles by Virginia Woolf were published during this stage, as well as eleven of the International Psychoanalytic Library. The size of print runs were similar to those of the previous stage, usually ranging from a few hundred to a few thousand. Press profits were considerable. After 1930 the Press "was more prosperous, bringing the Woolfs [...] about £1,000" (Rosenbaum 155) a year, though the income varied. John Lehmann was hired in 1931 to be Press manager but he left in 1932. Peggy Belsher remained until 1935. Other clerk-typists at this time included Molly Cashin and Peggy Walton. After Lehmann, the Press hired Margaret West as manager in 1933; she remained until her death in 1937. The most frequently used printers during this stage of the Press were R & R Clark and the Garden City Press.

Stage Five 1938-1942

The year 1938 changes the official relation between Virginia Woolf and the Hogarth Press. She sold her share to John Lehmann and moved from being an active publisher to an advisor. The sale was one of considerable financial stake and the success of the Press benefited her once again. As Lehmann notes, "After the earliest years, the profits from her books were the major element in keeping [the Press] prosperous, and attractive as a business proposition to a potential partner" (71). Woolf "was proud of the Press and its lasting success: 'Our earnings prodigious. Income last year about £6,000. John much impressed. Press worth £10,000 & all this sprung from that type on the drawing room table at Hogarth House 20 years ago.' But she was relieved to be free of it" (Lee 705). The Press, which had freed her to write what she liked, was also a burden she was glad to lay down. Her involvement with the Press did not end, however, as she "continued to advise the Press on literary matters" (Spater and Parsons 109). Her name also remained closely associated with it.

Another phase of Press operations occurred with the arrival of the war. For wartime operation of the Press, the plan was to keep publishing, but in a reduced capacity. Lehmann recalls discussions with the Woolfs where he proposed that since, "In the 1914-18 war poetry had been very much in demand[,] why not then take the fairly easy gamble that the same demand would occur in this war?" (89). Starting the New Hogarth Library "would keep up our name for avant-garde publishing at very little cost in paper consumption" (Lehmann 89). The Press "published fourteen volumes, containing fifty or sixty pages each [...] and the volumes as they came out were eagerly snapped up, not least by the more intelligent young men who were serving in the armed forces" (Lehmann 89-90). The volumes contained the work of C. Day Lewis, William Plomer, Herman Melville, as well as translations of Lorca, Rilke and Rimbaud.

In August of 1939 the Press, and the Woolfs, moved to 37 Mecklenburgh Square. The house was bombed in September of 1940 and so alternate arrangements were needed for the Press. The solution was found in the Garden City Press at Letchworth, which was about an hour by train north-east of London. The printers agreed to house the essential files and ledgers as "they were extremely anxious to keep [the Hogarth Press's] custom" and "the plan had the enormous advantage, in those days of constantly interrupted communications, of putting the actual production of our books under the same roof as our own publishing work" (Lehmann 93).

Another major effect of the war on the Press was the fluctuation in demand and supply. In one raid on London, Paternoster Row was destroyed and this "happened to be the place where a large number of publishers warehoused a great proportion of their stock of books" (Lehmann 94). As a result,

> an extreme dearth of books began to be felt very soon after, and became more and more evident as the months went by. The demand for something, anything, to read was increasing at the same time. Those publishers—and the Hogarth Press was one of them—who were lucky enough not to have been affected, or only slightly, by the conflagration, began to sell their stocks at a gallop. Books that in peacetime, when there was an abundance of choice, would have sold only a few copies every month, were snapped up the moment they arrived in the shops. (Lehmann 94)

The material condition of production changed during the war due to extreme shortages of supplies—the most important was paper. Priorities became clearer when the publication list had to be shortened; the most important books were kept in print. Lehmann recounts that in 1939, he and Leonard discussed the matter:

> We soon agreed that the first priority was Virginia's work, both in bringing out new books and in keeping the earlier books in print. We had brought out Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* in the spring with considerable success; we decided that all his works were our next priority, and indeed all the other volumes in the International Psycho-Analytic Library must be kept in print as far as possible: to lose any of them, let alone all of them, would be a major financial set-back for the Press, quite apart from their importance as works of learning and research. (Lehmann 88)

Considerations were both artistic and financial. Fortunately Woolf, and Freud, fulfilled both sets of criteria. Paper was rationed. The Hogarth Press was allowed forty per cent of its pre-war paper supply and Lehmann surmises the annual ration was "6 ½ tons" (86). In 1942 the Press published Virginia's *Death of the Moth*, a collection of essays that Leonard put together after Virginia's death. This book was reprinted "almost immediately after publication, and again before the year's end. These three […] impressions, consumed just over 50 cwt of paper, that is 2 ½ tons" (Lehmann 86). In 1942 the Press also "needed reprints of other works by Virginia, which took up another 2 tons" (Lehmann 86). This meant that two thirds of the Press's paper supply was devoted to publishing Virginia Woolf's works. The Press's secondary priority was the psychoanalytical books. The problem was then that "there was really hardly anything left for other new books [...]. There was also the problem, which we had to envisage, of providing paper for unexpected new books by our most successful authors, or losing them to publishing houses which could accommodate them much more easily within their larger quotas" (Lehmann 86-87). Even reprinting Woolf's books could be a problem as some of the plates (for *The Voyage Out* and *Night and Day*) were melted down "due to wartime restriction on metal imposed by the government" (Reading 546). Strategic business decisions became necessary.

During these years no books were handprinted and a total of seventy-eight titles were published. Of those, five were new titles by Virginia Woolf and thirteen were volumes of poetry that Lehmann either authored or edited. There were also two books by Leonard Woolf. Dorothy Lange was hired for a brief tenure as manager. She was replaced in May of 1938 by Norah Nicholls. In November 1938 Virginia Woolf noted in a letter, "Its odd to think what a business has grown out of the type in the Hogarth House drawing room. There are now seven clerks" (*Letters* 6: 305). The Press was still generally profitable. Leonard recalls that the "annual income of £1,000 from The Hogarth Press" (*Journey* 101) was typical in the late 1930s. Not surprisingly, almost all the printing was done at the Garden City Press.

Leonard's discussions of the Hogarth Press, particularly in his multiple volumes of autobiography, though not contemporary, seem to remain very influential for scholars and critics. In recounting the early success of the Press he emphasizes their surprise at success and reluctance to act in commercial interests that seem to belie or minimize strategic marketing that the Press performed. In 1967 Woolf writes of the 1919 publication of *Kew Gardens*, "this thin little volume, which we had printed ourselves, had great importance for us, for its immediate success was the first of many unforeseen happenings which led us, unintentionally and often reluctantly, to turn the Hogarth Press into a commercial publishing business" (*Downhill* 59-60). There is also interesting rhetoric in *Beginning Again*, an earlier volume of autobiography. After Leonard asserts that "it was only in 1920 that we began—with Gorky's *Reminiscences of Tolstoi* and Logan Pearsall Smith's *Stories from the Old Testament*—to have books printed for us by commercial printers and so to becomes ourselves commercial publishers" (*Downhill* 66). This, after detailing the practices, is certainly at least an oversimplification if not untrue. Even so, it is interesting that in the next sentence Leonard remarks that the "four books published by us in 1917, 1918, and 1919 were all printed and bound by ourselves, and the production, such as it was, was entirely that of the hands of Leonard and Virginia Woolf. Until 1920 the idea of seriously becoming professional publishers never occurred to us" (*Downhill* 66). The narrative of the Press emphasizes and asserts the small, private and very personal production, counterbalancing the admission that there was increasing commercialism. Leonard's account is not the whole story, rather a careful shaping of the narrative and explanation.

Thinking about a Press as its list, the Hogarth Press's list asserts its refusal of labels. The Press was a shape-shifter, with freedom to experiment, exploring personal values and diverse interests. Though some books and authors are now more remembered than others, Woolf, Freud, and Eliot tend to overshadow others, with reason: the Hogarth Press published 500[26] titles up to 1942. As Laura Marcus points out, the "distinguishing characteristic of the Press was heterogeneity. It published in the fields of poetry, fiction, literary criticism, art, art criticism, psychoanalysis, history, politics and economics. In the literary sphere, its publications are diverse and irreducible to single trends or movements" (128). Complex and diverse too were the productions of the books. It was never a one-man operation.

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[26] Woolmer lists the 500th title as Virginia Woolf's *The Death of the Moth* (170).

Chapter Three

A Press is what it Produces: Understanding the Hogarth Press through Material Texts

After examining the material practices of the Press and looking at the manufacture of the books it is important to analyze the material objects themselves. As Jerome McGann notes, a "text is a laced network of linguistic and bibliographic codes" (13). Hogarth Press books invoke various discourses through their particular bibliographic codes. John Russell remembers "the way that bookjackets by Vanessa Bell used to speak to us across a crowded bookshop" (qtd. in Bradshaw 24). This chapter will examine how book jackets, typography,[27] and illustrations can speak, as well as the content of what they have to say.

Of particular importance here is the conflation of history with innovation, resulting in "mixed message" books. Handprinted books are important for the personal labour they embody—non-mass-produced, noncommercial, leaving traces of the people involved—and are also of value for their niche in the market, as a sort of fetish object, from a book collecting as well as more theoretical point of view.[28] Production methods shape the object and its implications. Of issue here are also the aesthetics[29] of the Press, that combine the use of historical artistic forms linked to the past, while at the same time producing works with avant-garde codes that look to the future. The various bibliographic codes are another element of the negotiation between contradictory discourses. Not only did Hogarth Press books signal the old/authorized, and the new/rebellious, but they also communicate commercial savvy and disinterestedness, as well as elitism and democracy, or restricted and easy access. Some books displayed multiple contradictory messages at the same time, but when looking at the publications more generally these negotiations become clear and thus characterize the Press in all of these ways. Genre is another consideration, in particular pamphlets, and series publication more generally, in understanding the Hogarth Press through what it made. Series are mini publishers' lists and often become closely associated with their publishers, characterizing them more strongly than a single title, as well as revealing to what the Press was ongoingly committed.

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[27] By "typography" I refer to "the skilled planning of printed matter, including choice of paper, type face and size, and layout of the printed and blank areas to make a balanced and attractive whole" (Glaister 493).

[28] See Benjamin and Simmel on the aura.

[29] The term aesthetic, from the Greek, has the "sense of the science of 'the condition of sensuous perception'" (Williams *Keywords* 31) and later the term "with its specialized references to art [], to visual appearance, and to a category of what is 'fine' or 'beautiful', is a key formation in a group of meanings which at once emphasized and isolated subjective [] sense-activity as the basis of art and beauty"

The physical book was important to Virginia Woolf for a number of reasons. Both she and Leonard paid attention to the messages that material objects could communicate, the sensory responses to books apart from their content. Woolf was a bookbinder herself. As Laura Marcus notes, "Books as material objects were clearly of great importance to Woolf. She had taken up book-binding in 1901, when she was 19, and her experiments with different materials foreshadow the early Hogarth Press books" (132). Woolf's interest in binding continued and she "bound or re-covered books throughout her adult life, both for herself and for others. What she did could be

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(Williams *Keywords* 32). Aesthetic consideration may be for creating something beautiful, but is not necessarily so. It is the attention to "sense-activity" and the creation of a response in an individual, in this case, the appearance of a Press book and sensory responses to its physical incarnation. Aesthetics are "the philosophy of the beautiful or of *art*" ("Aesthetic," def. 1 emphasis added); a Press's products reveal its aesthetics, its philosophy of art.

said to be largely unorthodox, or experimental and creative" (Isaac 5). She paid attention to physical detail and could read non-linguistic bibliographic codes. In 1906 she wrote to Violet Dickinson about bookbinding, noting, "what funny unorthodox tastes we share together—for handmade paper, and strange tawny skins" (*Letters* 1: 269). In a 1918 review she writes, "To some readers the very sight of a book in which the plain paper so generously balances the printed paper will be a happy omen. It seems to foretell gaiety, ease, unconcern" (*Essays* 2: 250). Lee argues, "Though she took passionate pleasure in the look and feel of her books [...] she distrusted 'editions de luxe'" (371). Books were for reading, not simply looking at or collecting, and "Evidence of use was, to Virginia, a commendation" (Isaac 8). As was often the case, the Hogarth Press would dabble with the limited and more expensive editions, but it avoided characterization as such and the limitations that would ensue.

Book History

Adams and Barker propose the term "bibliographical document" to describe the object of study: "something printed or written in multiple copies that its agent, be it author, stationer, printer or publisher, or any combination thereof, produces for public consumption" (13). It is not only books that deserve study, and this is certainly true when the institution under consideration is a publisher. Many important things that the Hogarth Press produced were not books. The Press produced pamphlets, advertisements, catalogues, etc. Adams and Barker also argue that the "appreciation of the physical dimensions of the cultural and economic evidence implicit in any copy of a book deserves more attention as an aspect of the impact of printing" (20), and these aspects fundamentally influence the meaning of a book. Genette points out "two features […] constitute the basis of the book's material realization: the typesetting and the choice of paper" and that "typographical choices may provide indirect commentary on the texts they affect" (34). The non-linguistic bibliographic codes are the focus here.

Hogarth Press Style

Hogarth Press books have an identifiable style; Virginia Woolf's books have a style that comprises part of the Hogarth Press aesthetic, its philosophy of art. Important historical precedents for the Hogarth Press, in particular for understanding the aesthetic messages of the materiality of its publications are William Morris's Kelmscott Press, the Doves Press, and Roger Fry's Omega Workshops. The Woolfs, and Fry, positioned themselves in opposition to Morris's "nostalgia for the past [...] [and] antipathy toward the use of machines in art" (Rosenbaum 151), but there is also some continuity with Morris's project. Rather than clear opposition, the Hogarth Press made use of the past, nostalgia and the antipathy toward machines, but in different and perhaps more subtle ways. Further, not all turn of the century fine printing followed the Kelmscott style. The less-discussed Doves Press advocated simple design, following "Cobden-Sanderson's dictum that 'the whole duty of typography…is to communicate, without loss by the way, the thought or image intended to be communicated by the author'" (qtd. in Cave 147). Cave argues that it "was this restraint, and not Morris's lavish romanticism, which was to point the way for printing in the first half of the twentieth century" (Cave 147). Both the Omega

Workshops and the Hogarth Press wanted to avoid "highly crafted luxurious products" while "emphasizing utility, attractiveness and spontaneity" (Rosenbaum 152). This was no rejection of aesthetics, however, but a change in the type of aesthetic pleasure created by a book. Books were attractive, even beautiful, because they fulfilled their purpose, being readable. The beauty of utility in design is a concept echoed at the time by people such as Eric Gill. He writes, "the beautiful is that which pleases being seen, and those things are pleasing when seen which are as nearly perfect as may be in their adaptation to function" (9). Press books were engaging in their typography and design, unusual, and suited to the reader. And yet, the collector was attracted to the books as well. Lee notes, "St John Hornby owned the Ashendene Press, strongly influenced by William Morris's Kelmscott Press, which produced luxurious Gothic-style preprints of classics […]. This was exactly the sort of private press the Hogarth did not want (and could not afford) to be" (371). The choice of wording in Lee's analysis is interesting. The Press did not have a large amount of start-up capital, but they could not afford to be a private press in other senses, in terms of symbolic capital, producing new work, circulation, and the democratic leanings of the Press. A private press would have to sacrifice much of these elements and priorities. Little negotiation is possible if the Press is clearly one thing and prohibitively expensive. Rather than elaborate decoration and illustration, Hogarth Press texts were more simply decorated; the inclusion of "imperfections" that make clear the object was produced by hand create an appeal of their own through the evidence of the individuals involved in their production, the personal touch. One example of "imperfections" is Virginia Woolf inking in corrections to two misprints in Hope Mirlees's 1919 book *Paris* (Porter "Virginia Woolf" 298), but this creates an object with the sense of personal involvement by the printer, and publisher. Having a book altered by hand, especially by the hand of Virginia Woolf, increases its value both in symbolic and economic capital.

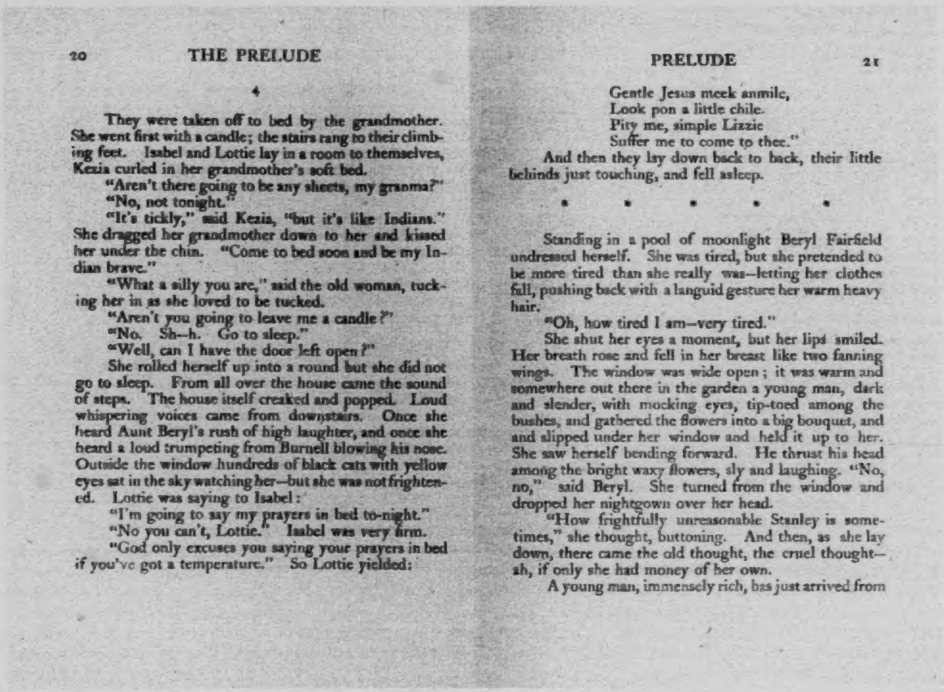
Even when errors themselves are not aesthetically pleasing, the fact that they convey personality and non-mass production makes them appealing. Further, such idiosyncrasies make works valuable to collectors. One example is from as late as 1927:

> when Laura Riding's change in marital status required that her married name of Gottschalk now be deleted from the printed title page of her poem that the Woolfs were printing, Leonard in exasperation simply printed two thick (six point) black rules across her last name and let it stand rather than print the title page again. Not surprisingly, it was the last work of hers that the Hogarth Press published. (Rosenbaum 157)

"Exasperation" is a reading of the material text, and not only shows an individual's involvement, but leads to an assessment of Leonard's state of mind. There are other ways to read the black lines as well: as a statement of frugality of production, or a desire to undermine conventions, an anti fine press statement.

Rosenbaum speculates that the "casualness and lack of finish in some of their printing was deliberate" (152). Another famous example of the importance of the bibliographic codes, the aesthetic position communicated through the materiality, is in the production of Mansfield's *Prelude*. The running head for the text was printed as "The Prelude" rather than "Prelude" and when J.M. Murry noticed this, it was changed, but only on the pages which remained to be printed. Rosenbaum suggests that this was done to save costs, but it is also possible that this is a strategic statement of priorities besides that of economic frugality. Accuracy of content is not paramount, nor is the uniformity of form. In undermining both the form and the content of the book the Press distances itself from fine printing as well as commercial printing. The unaltered change makes a statement of amateurism and is a reminder of the fallible human subject(s) involved in the production, asserting the Press's value of unconventionality. One could read the casualness as a marketing strategy. Handprinting and handprinted books started the Press and helped to characterize it, an association that persisted even after there was little handprinting.

Leonard, echoing the 1922 anniversary statement of the Press, explains that they "were interested primarily in the immaterial inside of a book, what the author had to say and how he said it," rejecting the private presses which "published finely printed books, which […] are meant not to be read, but to be looked at" (*Downhill* 80). The focus was on the words, the linguistic codes and that which had literary merit. The "immaterial inside of a book" is still embodied, however. There still must be choices of typeface and paper, even if those choices claim to strive for transparency. As the case of *Prelude* demonstrates, the artifact could still draw attention to itself, but in a way different from fine printing. Further, at the same time as linguistic codes were officially being privileged, aesthetic book production was important. The negotiations discussed in Chapter Two continue here at the level of the physical book: the overt disavowal of the anniversary statement is countered by the physical appearance of books produced in the same year. Three Russian books were published in 1922, *Stavrogin's Confession*, *The Autobiography of Countess Sophie Tolstoi*, and *Gentleman from San Francisco*. Leonard describes the books: "beautifully printed and bound, they were very carefully designed by Virginia and me, and they were unlike the books published by other publishers in those days. They were bound in paper over boards and we took an immense amount of trouble to find gay, striking, and beautiful papers" (*Downhill* 74). The books looked distinctive, even beautiful, and this was a matter of effort, not indifference.



20 THE PRELUDE

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They were taken off to bed by the grandmother. She went first with a candle; the stairs rang to their climbing feet. Isabel and Lottie lay in a room to themselves, Kezia curled in her grandmother's soft bed.

"Aren't there going to be any sheets, my granma?"

"No, not tonight."

"It's tickly," said Kezia, "but it's like Indians." She dragged her grandmother down to her and kissed her under the chin. "Come to bed soon and be my Indian brave."

"What a silly you are," said the old woman, tucking her in as she loved to be tucked.

"Aren't you going to leave me a candle?"

"No. Sh—h. Go to sleep."

"Well, can I have the door left open?"

She rolled herself up into a round but she did not go to sleep. From all over the house came the sound of steps. The house itself creaked and popped. Loud whispering voices came from downstairs. Once she heard Aunt Beryl's rush of high laughter, and once she heard a loud trumpeting from Burnell blowing his nose. Outside the window hundreds of black cats with yellow eyes sat in the sky watching her—but she was not frightened. Lottie was saying to Isabel:

"I'm going to say my prayers in bed to-night."

"No you can't, Lottie." Isabel was very firm.

"God only excuses you saying your prayers in bed if you've got a temperature." So Lottie yielded:

PRELUDE 21

Gentle Jesus meek anmile,
Look pon a little chile.
Pity me, simple Lizzie
Suffer me to come to thee."

And then they lay down back to back, their little behinds just touching, and fell asleep.

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Standing in a pool of moonlight Beryl Fairfield undressed herself. She was tired, but she pretended to be more tired than she really was—letting her clothes fall, pushing back with a languid gesture her warm heavy hair.

"Oh, how tired I am—very tired."

She shut her eyes a moment, but her lips smiled. Her breath rose and fell in her breast like two fanning wings. The window was wide open; it was warm and somewhere out there in the garden a young man, dark and slender, with mocking eyes, tip-toed among the bushes, and gathered the flowers into a big bouquet, and and slipped under her window and held it up to her. She saw herself bending forward. He thrust his head among the bright waxy flowers, sly and laughing. "No, no," said Beryl. She turned from the window and dropped her nightgown over her head.

"How frightfully unreasonable Stanley is sometimes," she thought, buttoning. And then, as she lay down, there came the old thought, the cruel thought—ah, if only she had money of her own.

A young man, immensely rich, has just arrived from

Production methods were also important because, in part, what distinguished the early Hogarth publications as objects was the handprinting, "the 'artisanal' labour of typesetting and printing" (Marcus 143), which was added to the artistic productions of the same individuals. This labour—visible in the "imperfections" of the texts—created an aura for texts that was both desirable and marketable. According to Georg Simmel, in his *Philosophy of Money* (1900), it is the anonymity and separation of worker from product and means of production, which results in the loss of the aura (456). In seeming recognition of this, the bookseller James Bain told Virginia early in their publishing venture, "so long as you print things yourself I can guarantee you an immediate sale and high prices; but when you have books printed for you, its [sic] a very different matter [...]. Its [sic] the personal touch" (*Letters* 2: 378). More than just a desirable object is created by the personal touch; art is made when the producer has control over the object. Gill argues, "Picture-painting, sculpture, music, are indeed art par excellence, but that they alone are now called art is not because they alone are or can be art, but because they alone to-day are the work of men not only skilful, and not tools in the hands of another, but workmen responsible for the things they make" (11). Art is an object with a signature. The end result for handprinted Hogarth Press books was a certain market niche for objects that conveyed distinction and they conferred some of that distinction on to the person who knew enough to buy them.

Early handprinted books were set in Caslon old face. Between 1917 and 1922 the Press bought various sizes of type, including "titling" for covers (I.Q.1.a). The history of the Caslon type is relevant here. Designed by William Caslon, "the first great English typecutter" (Bringhurst 210), in the mid eighteenth century, the face was rediscovered in the mid-nineteenth-century and its use then was novel. However, by "1917 a typography that had been avant-garde in 1844, hallowed in 1884 and respectable in 1914 felt the edge of the headsman's axe" (Handover "British" 163). Thus, at the start of the Press the type signified British conventionality.

Paper the Press purchased in 1918 was quarto art wove, which means, the paper "when held up to the light is seen to have an even or regular pattern of fine mesh but with none of the lines which distinguish laid paper" (Glaister 520). In the 1960s Leonard received a letter from the printer D. T. Stone who writes, "the book[30] [...] is quite professional. Assuming I had known nothing of the history of its production [...] I would not have guessed that the type had been hand-set and the pages printed on a platen." He further writes that he is "particularly impressed by the fact that in 1924 you were deleting unnecessary full points and commas from the end of display lines. Also, the deep margins at the foot of the page was, I thought, a modern trend in bookwork" (I.Q.3.b). As Handover notes, "spacing and the positioning of typographic elements within the page area, no less than type design, are components of a period style" ("British" 149). Though the paper and typeface recalled history, the typography was innovative; the pages were both old and new.

The Woolfs continued to handprint some books themselves until 1932, for a total of thirty-four. This choice, in addition to being a continuation of a hobby, was done in part to continue to emphasize the niche or positioning of the Press. What may be surprising is that these productions are a small percentage of 500 titles published between 1917 and 1942. Before1923, however, nineteen books were hand-printed out of a total of forty. The symbolic capital accrued in the early years seems to have carried on over time, with the Press reaping the benefits of an early characterization as small and noncommercial. The benefits were not only economic, but also in status and prestige, in reputation. As is the case with other early aspects of the Press, the early production overdetermines the historical view of the Press. Rosenbaum puts forth a common critical view of the Press when he writes that the "Hogarth Press refused to publish something just because it would sell" (152). However, the large sales of some titles seem to indicate more than accident.

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[30] The book referred to here is likely Ransom's *Grace After Meat*. The only other handprinted book from 1924 was the pamphlet *Henry James at Work*.

Rosenbaum states, "For books they published but did not print themselves, the Woolfs or their printers did whatever designing or editing was required" (157). Further, "There was no 'house-style' other than what the printers themselves imposed, and there does not seem to have been much of that" (Rosenbaum 157). If this were the case, and to some extent it seems to be, then the Press was following publishers of the previous decades for whom speed was a major factor. In the late Victorian era, when "technical efficiency pervaded the biggest book and newspaper houses" and "all casual experiment and even the mildest variation must be eschewed," the publisher's "instructions referred only to the wrapper or boards, and the burden of the text pages fell on the compositor" (Handover "British" 152). Some contemporary publishers, such as Penguin, paid great attention to creating books uniform in all details, but the Hogarth Press was not in a rush for speed nor, on principle, seeking uniformity. Multiplicity was the practice and the priority, in wrappers, in reprints, and in sizes, even of the "Uniform" Edition. Yet, while there was no official Hogarth Press house style, this does not indicate inattention to typographical matters. The Press consciously invoked printers' house styles, sometimes asking for modifications. Another common practice was asking the printers, or binders to duplicate the typography or binding style of previous works printed for the Press. For example, the Garden City Press was instructed to print *Three Guineas* in pages "uniform with that of *A Room of One's Own* in the Uniform Edition […] i.e. 26 lines in the page, length of line 18 ems" (Reading 571). Further, instructions were that "normal house style is to be followed as regards the use of quotations, the spacing of quotes and other punctuation, and words ending in 'ize.'" (Reading 571). During the production of *The Waves*, the Press wrote to R & R Clark, among other directions, to "please note that the top margin, between the heading and the edge of the paper should be 4 ems" (Reading 575). As subsequent examples will show, there was often great attention to the details of the material artifact, even of books not printed themselves.

Books that were not handprinted can also have interesting errors and also continue to mark the imprints as different. The 1921 publication of Virginia Woolf's *Monday or Tuesday* was, according to Leonard, "one of the worst printed books ever published, [and] certainly the worst ever published by The Hogarth Press" (*Beginning* 240). The book was printed by McDermott at the Prompt Press with Leonard's help,[31] but there were problems with the choices of materials. One significant problem was the paper chosen by McDermott, "a nasty spongy antique wove" and another was that McDermott

> insisted upon printing the woodcuts with the letterpress. The consequence was that, in order to get the right 'colour' for the illustrations, he had to get four or five times more ink on his rollers than was right for the type. His type was

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[31] See Chapter Two for more details of the production.

> soon clogged with ink…[and] he got so much ink on the blocks and his paper was so soft and spongy that little fluffy bits of paper were torn off with the ink and stuck to the blocks and then to the rollers and finally to the type. We had to stop every few minutes and clean everything, but even so the pages were an appalling sight. (*Beginning* 240)

Even a professional printer could make choices that resulted in an "amateur" looking book. The cover was designed by Vanessa Bell, the first of her covers for Woolf's books, and the inclusion of woodcuts by Bell is highlighted: the cover announces "Woodcuts by Vanessa Bell" in only slightly smaller size letters than the title and Woolf's name. The illustrations are often excluded from reproduction, though it seems clear that they were of significant importance in the original publication. Bell was an important artist in her own right, and the original book is a collaboration between artists.[32] Woodcuts were another important feature of early Hogarth Press imprints.

The early publications also contained material links with the more distant past for those with the knowledge and education to identify them. A certain continuity with the past served to authorize press productions by bestowing a sense of artistic and historical credibility on them but also, as importantly, by differentiating them from mass-market explicitly for-profit contemporary publishers. In creating products that were both old and new, they could appear both modern and legitimated by tradition. Wendy Wall uses the concept of the "literary psuedomorph" to discuss transitional manuscripts that bridge the eras of handwritten and printed texts. Early printed texts in many ways resembled manuscripts in order to make them comprehensible and more valid as a new form: elements of the past conferred credibility, as well as recognizability, on the new. The concept of the pseudomorph is also applicable to the Hogarth Press texts in a broad sense, to explain how the Press could capitalize "on the familiarity of past forms but could bend them to new use in the process" (Wall 231) both in terms of the material productions and their distribution. The use of xylography, or printing using woodcuts, predates moveable type and woodcuts were a frequent component in Hogarth publications from the start. Four woodcuts by Dora Carrington were included in *Two Stories* and one of her sources of inspiration for her woodcut design was fifteenth and sixteenth century German woodcuts (Greenwood 13). Bell's woodcuts were used in *Kew Gardens*, as well as *Monday or Tuesday*. In 1921 the Press also published *Twelve Original Woodcuts* by Roger Fry. In England, woodcuts came to greater prominence under the patronage of Fry[33] (Greenwood 9).

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[32] However, as is often the case, the linguistic codes are privileged over other elements of a book and taken to be the essential component. A reprint need only have the words to be considered the same book. This practice further enhances the value of the original publication as well, since it contains elements not otherwise available.

Hogarth Press books, the handprinted ones, also often had uncut pages which point to an earlier era of book production. *Kew Gardens*, Eliot's *Poems*, and *The Waste Land*, Forster's *Pharos and Pharillon*, and the last handprinted book, Wellesley's *Jupiter and the Nun*, are among the more than twenty uncut books produced. An unopened book, one "sold with the bolts uncut, to be hand-slit by the purchaser with a paper-knife" (Glaister 496), required the input of some labour from the reader.

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[33] In the latter part of the nineteenth century William Morris revived the use of woodcuts (Greenwood 9). Once again there is a connection between Fry and Morris though with differences in practice and purpose.

Press books were bound in a variety of ways, some rather old-fashioned. *Prelude* had a 'yapp' binding, as did *Kew Gardens*, Eliots's *Poems* and *The Critic in Judgment* (all of 1919) as well as *Stories of the East* (1921). The yapp is "a style of limp-leather binding with overlapping flaps or edges on three sides" and "named after William Yapp who between 1854 and 1875 had a Bible warehouse in London. He designed a limp binding suitable for Bibles to be carried in the pocket [...]. However, bindings with tooled edges in this style were made in the mid-16th century" (Glaister 523). The binding is both useful for readers and historical in origin. Handprinting and hand-made papers, small print runs, and distribution through personal connection all conferred historical credibility and prestige for those in the select group, and built up symbolic capital for the Press.

Book Covers

Bright, vibrant colours characterized Hogarth Press publications. *Two Stories* was bound in varying bright colours of Japanese paper. Cave notes that the "use of unusual and attractive cover papers was to become a feature of the Hogarth Press," and this "may have been responsible for starting the fashion there was in the 1920s for such cover papers" (201). Isaac argues that the uncommon covers were not Leonard's contribution, rather, "[i]t seems fairly safe to attribute this innovation to Virginia. She had written to Emma Vaughan back in 1902, [...] 'There seem ever so many ways of making covers—of leather-linen-silk-parchment-vellum-japanese paper etc. etc. etc. which the ordinary lidders never think of" (14). While the productions were not "fine printing" they were admired and even influential in book making. Hogarth Press books looked different, not only from "fine-print" luxurious Kelmscott Press books, or even the Nonesuch Press, but also from contemporary and respected commercial printers such as Cape or Heinemann. The covers, like much of the material contained in them, looked, and were, experimental and even avant-garde. Kennedy notes that when traveling these books in 1928, the buyers "don't like our covers and say the public don't like them" (60). Unlike the more conventional Caslon typeface, the covers were novel.

Though there was not a House style, Bell "was the most prolific designer to work for the Hogarth Press, and she created what became almost its house style" (Beechey 18). She designed covers for series publications as well as individual authors—including Henry Green, Edward Upward, Susan Buchan—and of course she designed the first and much used wolf's head logo. Her work became part of a triangular cross-referencing association linked to both Virginia Woolf and to the Hogarth Press. Bell's first contribution to the Press was the frontispiece illustration for *Kew Gardens* (1919). The production of covers was a collaborative process between the Woolfs, Press employees, and outside artists; quite a few different artists were involved in their production. Cover designers include Duncan Grant, John Banting, Richard Kennedy, Trekkie Ritchie, John Armstrong, E. McKnight Kauffer, Dora Carrington, Ronald Grierson, Quentin Bell, Eugene McCown, Enid Marx, and Robert Medley. In later years John Lehmann "introduced new artists associated with the neo-romantic movement, including Michael Ayrton, John Minton, John Piper, Graham Sutherland, and Keith Vaughan" (Beechey 15). The designers for the Press often had impressive credentials: "In the 1930s Duncan Grant and Vanessa Bell were among the most prominent artists working in England" and E. McKnight Kauffer was "the foremost poster designer of his age" (Beechey 19). The people involved in Press design were often both friends of the Woolfs and noted professionals, a combination that suited the Press well.

In the first five years of the Press, the books were produced without dust-jackets. The covers were paper and titles were printed directly onto the paper or onto a paper label pasted to the cover. Bell's woodcut design for the cover of Woolf's *Monday or Tuesday* was done on paper and "pasted on to the front board of the book" (Bradshaw 66). The wrappers of the early Press books are remarkable not only for their innovations in colour and types of material, but also in their variety. Variants are important to the Press. There were multiple covers for *Two Stories*, as there were for Eliot's *Poems*. Some of the latter's covers were the woven blue paper and red geometric papers used for the former (Porter *Virginia Woolf* 23). Since the multiple covers seem not to have been the result of running out of paper supplies, as some have argued, they indicate the low priority of uniformity, or the intentional creation of multiplicity. The covers also materially link the two publications together, and there are other examples of different books sharing cover papers. Some copies of *Poems* also had covers of splashes of orange, green and brown, similar to the covers of *Kew Gardens*, and the labels for the book were printed in different colours of ink—some red, some black. Though all copies of Eliot's *The Waste Land* were printed in marbled papers, there were three distinctive labels (Porter *Virginia Woolf* 23). The variations in covers do not end there. Forster's *The Story of the Siren* (1920), Fry's *Twelve Original Woodcuts* (1921), Read's *Mutations of the Phoenix* (1923), Limebeer's *To a Proud Phantom* (1923), Manning-Sanders's *Martha Wish-You-Ill* (1926), Snaith's *April Morning* (1926) all had variations in covers, labels, or both. Shove's *Daybreak* (1922) had at least seven different covers in a print run of 250 copies (Porter *Virginia Woolf* 23). The variety within print runs are not all recognized in *A Checklist of the Hogarth Press*, or other reference books, and there are likely others not yet identified. The variations did not end with the first few productions of the Press, nor were they a consistent policy of the handprinted books. Multiplicity was not made a rule.

Over time, many Hogarth Press books came to be bound in cloth and this practice, common in British publishing, has both an interesting origin and some significant implications for the sale of books. Michael Sadleir, writing in 1927, explains that the circulating libraries had an impact on British bookbinding and subsequently on the price of books. He notes,

> France has no lending library to speak of; the public *buy* their books, because they want primarily reading matter and only secondarily durability, they prefer a cheaper book in wrappers to a dearer one in cloth. In this country, however, because the library cannot for obvious reasons accept wrappered books for continuous circulation, the convention of cloth binding has become firmly established, and an insistence on cloth-bound books is by now characteristic of the bookseller as of the librarian. The public pay for this cloth binding and pay heavily. (43)

With cloth binding comes the dust-jacket. Dust-jackets "which began simply as a protective cover for the book and the elegant decorative binding beneath it, has evolved into a vital instrument in publicizing and selling the book, so much so that collectors of modern books attach as much importance to its condition as to that of the rest of the book" (Adams and Barker 21). The first dust-jacket dates from 1833, but it "was not until the 1880s that the provision of jackets became at all common. In the late 1890s the front inner flaps were used for blurbs […], relative to the book they enclosed" (Glaister 259). Beechey notes that before the 1920s "[d]ust-jackets were not commonplace" and "until then, illustrated covers involved the laborious process of mounting four-colour prints on cloth cases" (16). One implication, once its use became common, is that the "jacket and its close relation, the paperback cover, have reduced the binding proper to insignificance" (Adams and Barker 21). People buying a book often will not have even looked at the binding. Because dust-jackets are detachable, Genette considers them "as appendages to the cover," and "as if they were constitutively ephemeral, almost inviting the reader to get rid of them after they have fulfilled their function as poster and possibly as protection" (27). The first dust-jacket done by the Press was one of Bell's and was for Virginia Woolf's *Jacob's Room* in 1922. The dust-jacket for *Jacob's Room* was a "collaborative effort: Vanessa made the drawing, Virginia chose the terra-cotta colouring, and Leonard Woolf advised alterations to the lettering" (Beechey 16). In part because the dust-jacket is detachable and ephemeral it often becomes rare and therefore valuable. In 2007, copies of the first edition of *Jacob's Room* without a dust-jacket sell for between

$1,200 and $1,800 US and with a dust-jacket, the price jumps to five figures.[34] In fine condition with a dust-jacket, the price is $75,000.[35] Bell's jackets are now highly sought after by book collectors and greatly increase the purchase price of all Woolf's books.

The covers for Woolf's books are closely associated with the post-impressionist designs of Vanessa Bell. Bell designed covers for all of Woolf's monograph publications except for *Orlando* and *A Letter to a Young Poet*. Bell not only designed the cover for *Kew Gardens*, and two woodcuts, but also in the later 1927 edition extensively illustrated the text. Leonard famously recounts that the *Jacob's Room* cover, designed by Bell, since it "did not represent a desirable female or even Jacob or his room, […] was what in 1923 many people would have called reproachfully post-impressionist. It was almost universally condemned by the booksellers, and several of the buyers laughed at it" (*Downhill* 76). What early on had been "too new" became a key characteristic of the Press in later years.

Bell's cover designs offer a type of commentary on Woolf's books. Diane Gillespie looks at some length at the "professional collaboration" between the two women and proposes Bell's "cover designs, in ways ever more general than some of her illustrations, embody in a complementary medium the preoccupations of visual and verbal artists alike. Both are interested in the ways opposites vitalize each other; both also try to bring such tensions into harmony" (252). Bell's covers spoke in this way too about the philosophy of art and beauty, the aesthetics of Woolf, and by extension, the Press. Marcus notes that the designs "often relate both to generic and gendered aspects of text and image. Bell's design for the dust-jacket of Woolf's biography of Roger Fry, for example, makes a crucial connection between biography and portraiture" (141). Another instance is how the "representation of 'women's time' on the cover of *A Room of One's Own* transmutes clock-time, a central image in *Mrs. Dalloway*, into time as the desideratum for women's work and creativity, Bell's version of 'a room of one's own and five hundred pounds a year'" (Marcus 141). Marcus goes on to argue that "Bell's Post-Impressionist covers [...] also contributed to the definition of the 'aesthetic' of the Press and influenced the perception and reception of Woolf's writings" (141). The Press was aware of this and encouraged the continued connection. In 1948 an artist submitted a jacket design for one of Woolf's books. The Press replied, "the jackets of Mrs. Woolf's books are always designed by her sister, Vanessa Bell, who we feel has an understanding and power to interpret Mrs. Woolf's work which is unlikely to be equaled in another artist" (Reading 546). The Bell jackets were also identifiable to readers and part of the Virginia Woolf brand.

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[34] Peter Harrington, antiquarian bookseller, lists a first edition of *Jacob's Room* at $1,239.70 (*Jacob's Room*). A copy with a dust-jacket is listed for $52,500 (King).
[35] The seller Peter L. Stern & Co, Incl, A.B.A.A. describes the book as "a fine, fresh copy in a dust jacket" and explains, "Very scarce in this condition; we have had but a single comparable copy in the last several years."

Beechey relates that Virginia liked the cover for *Walter Sickert: A Conversation* "so much she raised the price of her essay on the strength of it" (18). Woolf understood the importance of covers and the effect they could have both on the number of sales and the price buyers were willing to pay. Bell also designed "the covers used for the Uniform Editions of [Woolf's] novels in Britain and America" (Beechey 17), and continued to design covers for Woolf's books published posthumously. The appearance of the author's name in the case of Virginia Woolf is quite prominent, usually appearing both on the cover and on the spine. As Genette notes, "On the title page the name is printed modestly and, so to speak, legal, and generally less conspicuously than the title. On the cover the name may be printed in varying sizes, depending on the author's reputation" (39). Woolf's name is usually larger than the title in later covers, but for *Jacob's Room*, and *Mrs. Dalloway*, and other earlier books, the titles are larger. As Woolf's reputation increased, so did the size and prominence of her name. By 1937 and the publication of *The Years*, her name was the same size as the title. The author's name is also larger than the title of the Uniform Editions. On Bell's dust-jackets typically the only place that overtly says Hogarth Press is at the base of the spine. In the case of a Bell cover of a Woolf book, these elements together signify "Hogarth Press."

Looking at dust-jackets collectively can also reveal concerns with trends and issues of the day in a way that only the titles of works may not. David Porter notes that a number of Hogarth Press dust-jackets from the 1930s "respond-as do so many Hogarth Press books of the time—to the Woolfs' keen awareness of the growing threat of fascism" (*Virginia Woolf* 8). He cites Kauffer's jacket of Leonard Woolf's *Quack Quack!* and Libby Benedict's *The Refugees*, which feature swastikas. There is also the cover of Wilfred Benson's 1930 novel *As You Were* that depicts men in army uniforms. Covers also show an awareness for the Hogarth Press brand, and in particular, its logo. Ritchie's cover for *Saturday Night at the Greyhound* (1931) has a dog on the spine, "her version of the punning Press device, a wolf's head, that typically appears on Hogarth spines" (Porter "Virginia Woolf" 292). In a letter, Leonard writes that a later dust-jacket for *Mr. Norris Changes Trains* "is exactly the same as that of the 1937 edition of *Sally Bowles*" and that it "is a rather standard jacket which we invented at that time in the Hogarth Press, printed in green or blue with arrangement of thick rules" (I.Q.3.b). The *Sally Bowles* cover was designed by Richard Kennedy (Woolmer 143) and the Press used variants for a diverse range of books, including *Diet and High Blood Pressure* (1937) by Dr. I. Harris, The *New Boer War* (1932) by Leonard Barnes, and *After the Deluge* (1939) by Leonard Woolf. In total, the cover was used more than twenty times. Repeated designs and a familiar "rather standard jacket" also help to make the Hogarth Press brand recognizable and distinctive.

In addition to covers, the spine is an important part of the publisher's peritext. "The *spine*, a narrow site but one with obvious strategic importance, generally bears the name of the author, the colophon of the publisher, and the title of the work" (Genette 26). The use of this space is not standard however. Genette explains that

> here a technical quarrel rages between those who favor horizontal printing and those who favor vertical, and, among the latter, between those who favor an ascending vertical (most French publishers) and those who favor a descending vertical (a few French and most foreign publishers, who argue that this arrangement is compatible with the position of a book lying flat on its back, allowing both its front cover and its spine to be read. (26)

Hogarth Press books typically take the less common horizontal printing on the spine and therefore stand out amongst other books even on a shelf. Typically the title is given first, followed by the author's name, and "The Hogarth Press" is printed at the bottom. The publisher's device does not usually appear on the spine. Some of the more general comments about the appearance and physical composition of Hogarth Press books will now be complemented by a more particular look at the four key Woolf texts.

Jacob's Room

The typography of this novel was influenced by Woolf's activities as a typesetting printer. In this way her work at the Hogarth Press affected the physical appearance of her own texts. Mepham argues that in *Jacob's Room* Woolf's "use of those white spaces on the page is a brilliant invention, perhaps importing into the novel devices of layout that had intrigued her when she was laying out Eliot's poetry on the page for the Hogarth Press" (79). He goes on to explain, "The gaps hold scenes in a state of disconnection, so that the reader is provided with a sequence of separated scenes rather than a narrative" (79). While there is white space in the text, there is little in the rest of the book. Genette notes, "a mute fold, like every wasteful act, is a sign of distinction" (27). The back of *Jacob's Room* has fourteen pages of blurbs about Woolf's writing and advertising for the Press more generally.[36] The book is bound in yellow cloth boards with a "white label lettered in black on [the] spine" (Woolmer 17). It is also interesting to note that there is no wolf's head on this publication as the logo did not appear until 1925, though the cinnamon and black Bell dust-jacket is also emblematic.

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[36] See illustration in Chapter Four, page 175.

To the Lighthouse

When the Press was corresponding with the printers for this novel, R & R Clark, in January of 1927, the instructions were for "3,000 copies in type, style, and on paper similar to that for MRS DALLOWAY, except that headings should be in small caps and not between rules, and right hand headings should be the section headings. Binding 2,000 copies in style similar to THE RIVER FLOWS,[37] with stained top edge" (Reading 572). These instructions show attention to details of typography and binding, as well as a continuity between Woolf's works at the material level. The first edition was bound in "Bright blue cloth lettered in gilt" and the cream dust jacket "printed in pale blue and black" (Woolmer 60). The binding material was originally to have been art vellum; however, a later letter shows an inquiry about an upgrade to "Art Linen No.14 Blue" (Reading 572). Economy did not always win out. The Press chose to bind the novel in the more expensive material and the cost of binding 2,000 copies increased from £75.5 to £97 (Reading 572). This important novel was bound in the more expensive bright blue cloth boards. The first three impressions of *To the Lighthouse* included the Bell dust-jacket (Bradshaw 68). At the end of the book there were no longer blurbs and advertisements, but white space.

Flush

As mentioned in Chapter Two, there were two printings of this book in 1933. The first was the larger demy octavo size and contained nine plates and a frontispiece. Four of the plates were line drawings by Vanessa Bell. The others were a photo of the

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[37] A novel by F.L. Lucas, published in October of 1926 and printed by R & R Clark.

Woolf's own spaniel, Pinker, and paintings of people involved in the biography. The visual illustrations reveal a willingness to combine Victorian art with contemporary post-impressionist works by Bell, further emphasizing a connection between past and present, historical and contemporary commentary.

The book was bound in buff cloth boards, lettered in gold on the spine. The dust-jacket was "printed in brown with illustration of a dog" and includes the description "Large Paper Edition" (Kirkpatrick 93). As this edition was the Book Society's choice for its October selection, they corresponded with the Press before publication and evidently influenced decisions regarding the book's physical appearance. The Book Society asked the Press to change the cover paper to "an uncoated" one, preferably "in cream or some deeper shade instead of white" since shiny white paper "gets thumb-marked or otherwise disfigured" (Reading 556). Book Society members had more in mind than simply a readable copy, and the Press complied, issuing a jacket of uncoated paper, buff in tone. The larger books were made with antique laid paper, while the smaller were made with antique wove. The page layout for the large edition is very generous with wide margins on the outer and bottom margins of the pages. The smaller books, published as the Uniform Edition, contained only two plates. Thus, a number of distinctions are made materially.

The Years

This novel sold very well. It is set in 12 point Fournier Solid with 20 em lines on Aldwich antique wove paper (Reading 577). Fournier is a typeface "Based on the new roman designed by Pierre-Simon Fourneir in the 1740s" (Glaister 529). A monotype version of the face was cut in 1925. While Caslon is considered an English typeface, achieving the "status of the pipe and slippers, good used car and favorite chair," (Bringhurst 210), Fournier's is very much a French face (Bringhurst 217). The book-jacket for this novel is printed in black on abbey mills white antique laid paper (Reading 577). It is bound in pale green cloth lettered in gilt with a cream dust-jacket printed in black and brown (Woolmer 147) by Bell. The dust-jacket is signed by Bell with her full name. The picture of a rose, surrounded by geometric patterns, is repeated on the back of the jacket. There are therefore no advertisement or blurbs visible on the jacket. There is one blurb on the inner flap of the dust-jacket.

Limited Editions

As has previously been noted, the Hogarth Press did at times make use of limited editions of books, often because of handprinting, but sometimes as a choice to make a small, "unique" and marketable first edition as in the case of *A Room of One's Own.*[38] As Veblen notes, "A Limited edition is in effect a guarantee—somewhat crude, it is true—that this book is scarce and that it therefore is costly and lends pecuniary distinction to its consumer" (qtd. in Cave 141). The reprinting of *Kew Gardens* in 1927 is another case of a limited edition, but not a handprinted book. An advertisement and order form for the book reads, "The original edition of *Kew Gardens,* which was published in 1919, has been long out of print. The present edition is crown quarto and is limited to 500 numbered copies. The whole book has been designed and each page is decorated by Mrs. Bell. The cover, printed in three

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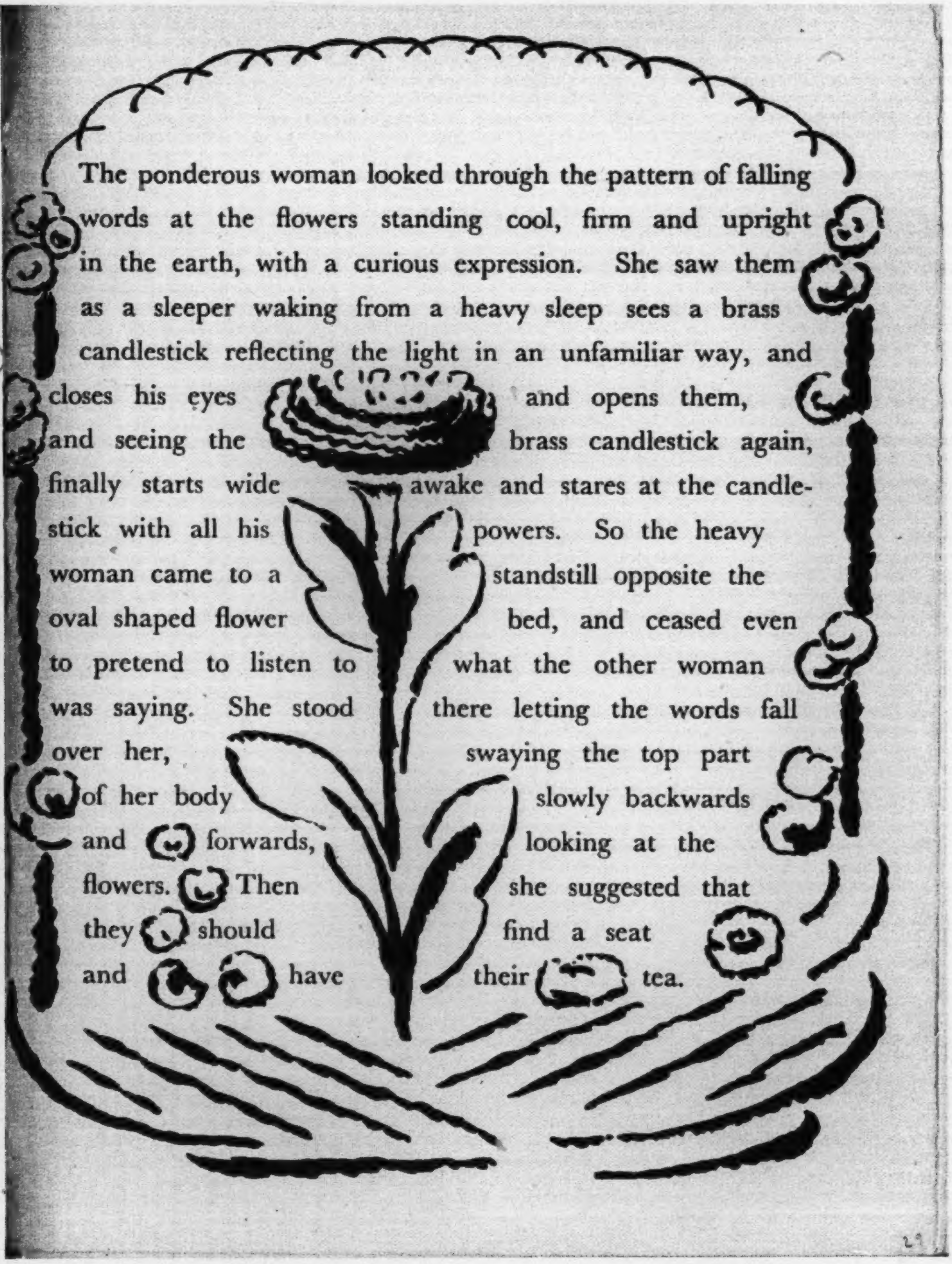
[38] See Chapter Two for a discussion of this limited edition.



The ponderous woman looked through the pattern of falling words at the flowers standing cool, firm and upright in the earth, with a curious expression. She saw them as a sleeper waking from a heavy sleep sees a brass candlestick reflecting the light in an unfamiliar way, and closes his eyes and opens them, and seeing the brass candlestick again, finally starts wide awake and stares at the candlestick with all his powers. So the heavy woman came to a standstill opposite the oval shaped flower bed, and ceased even to pretend to listen to what the other woman was saying. She stood there letting the words fall over her, swaying the top part of her body slowly backwards and forwards, looking at the flowers. Then she suggested that they should find a seat and have their tea.

Bell's illustration and Woolf's text from *Kew Gardens*, page 29 colours, is also designed by her. A specimen page is given overleaf" (Reading 560). A different appeal is created, one that focuses on the materiality of the book. The book was printed by Herbert Reiach. The Press had text printed on rectos only, creating more white space. In the production of this book the Press explored the use of a number of more expensive papers, including "imitation hand made paper," wanted the use of 18 point Caslon Old Face, and stresses that "In setting, the type should be ranged at the left side and should correspond exactly with the text as it is written on the enclosed manuscript (Reading 560). The book was produced in two stages. Once proofs were sent and corrected, the revised version would be "pulled on good paper in final form. The artist will paste these up with her design to make complete pages from which you will be able to make blocks. The text and design will be printed on one side of the page only" (Reading 560). Ship Binding Works completed manufacture by taking the folded sheets "thread sewn without tapes, Latimer endpapers, bound in printed paper case, 1½ lb. board, backed up, cut top, trimmed fore-edge and tail, special glacine[39] wrapper" (Reading 560). Care was taken at each stage, and with each element of the production of this book.

The case of the last of the handprinted books authored by Virginia Woolf pertains here. *On Being Ill* was published in 1930. The book was bound in "Pale blue-green cloth" with a "vellum spine lettered in gilt" (Woolmer 88). The dust-jacket was designed by Bell. What is different about the publication is the size of the print run. The Press published 250 numbered copies, all signed by the author. Woolmer notes there are also "about 25 'out of series' copies" (88). The initial plan seems to have been for an even smaller print run, since there "is a preliminary state in which p. [5] is printed: 'This edition is limited to 125 numbered copies,…'; the figure 125 has been ruled over and the figure 250 inserted above it" (Woolmer 88). As Virginia Woolf also set the type for this book herself, it is a very personal book in a number of ways: her text, her type, her imprint. The price of the book was 21s., many times what the average Press price was, and the book was only thirty-five pages in length. *On Being Ill* is most like fine printing in a number of ways. Its catalogue announcement reads, "Edition limited to 250 copies signed by the author," and further explains, "This essay has been printed by hand at the Hogarth Press on handmade paper, the type being set by the author. The jacket has been designed by Vanessa Bell" (Autumn 1930 Catalogue). This book was published along with thirty other titles in 1930, including the best-selling *The Edwardians* by Vita Sackville-West. This move toward fine printing occurs at the same time as best selling commercial success; the reassertion of the value of art and more traditional aesthetics, a statement of the personal, the nostalgic, comes in significant part through the material used to make *On Being Ill* which was then highlighted in the advertising.

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[39] Also spelled glassine, it is "a glossy transparent paper made from very clean chemical wood pulps, heavily supercalendered, and occasionally used for book jackets" (Glaister 196).

Rhein notes, "the paper for the text is very fine with a distinctive watermark" (16). Deluxe editions of books are often printed on different types of paper. The real differences between types of paper

> are only aesthetic (attractiveness of the paper, quality of the impression), economic (the market value of a copy), and possibly material (greater or lesser longevity). But these real differences also—and perhaps especially—serve as

> the grounds for a fundamental symbolic difference, one that results from the fact that these deluxe printings are by nature 'limited.' For bibliophiles, this limitedness somewhat counterbalances the ideal and thus potentially limitless nature of literary works that deprives them of almost all the value of ownership. (Genette 35)

Books in limited editions become more like paintings, sculptures, unique works of art, which can appreciate in economic, as well as symbolic, value.

Lawrence Rainey discusses how modernists responded to the increasing commodification of art. In his analysis, he claims that their answer was to combine elements of the past with the new market economy. Art still required distinction to differentiate it from mass produced goods so the solution was to "transform [art] into a special kind of commodity, a rarity capable of sustaining investment value" (39). Rainey sees this being accomplished by "acknowledging the status of art as commodity, but to postpone and sublimate its consumption by turning it into an object of investment whose value will be realized only in the future" (39). Limited editions produced by Presses such as the Kelmscott in their elaborate and expensive production "increasingly resembled the work of art" and were also "assimilated by the rare and antiquarian book markets that had matured in the nineteenth century, turning them into commodities and potential investments" (Rainey 100). Thus, in addressing not the broad public, but a "prosperous minority with a luxury good that emphasized innovation and was produced in small quantities," the "limited edition established a kind of special productive space insulated from the harsh exigencies of the larger marketplace" (Rainey 101).

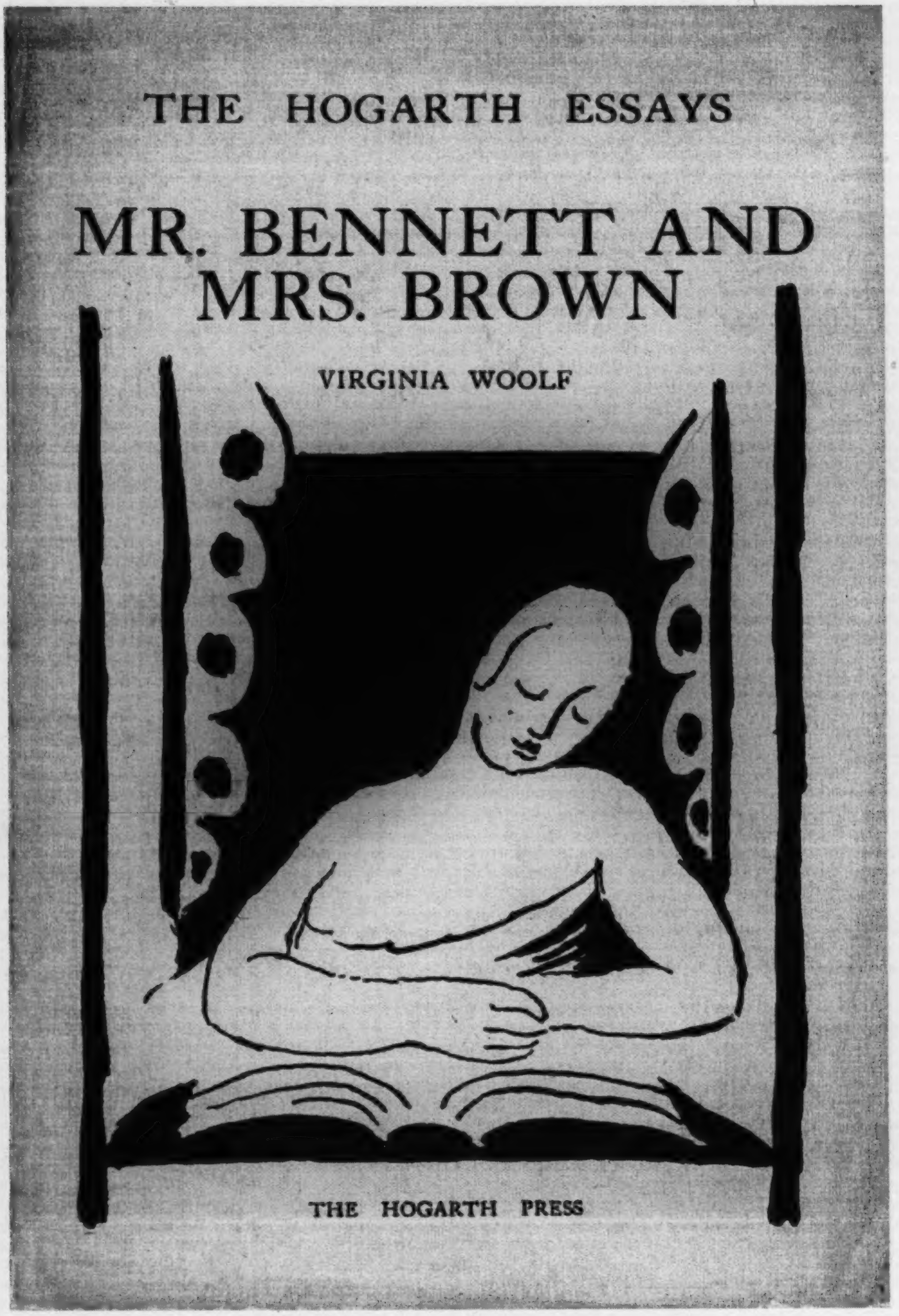
What the Hogarth Press did is analogous in some important ways. The early production methods, especially handprinting, necessarily limited the size of the print runs. So too did the type of text being published. Though the Press made efforts to distance itself from "fine printing" Hogarth Press texts became valuable and collectible as art objects of a different type. Especially in the case of handprinting, the Press benefited from the effects of a limited edition, scarcity, without the charge of strategy for profit, but with the same result—profit. The result is art as a special kind of commodity. There were relatively few limited editions in the Hogarth Press list in the sense of signed, numbered, and expensive, though there are many with small print runs of only a few hundred copies. One difference was, in the latter case, the books could be reprinted if there was a demand. Even in the cases of the limited editions, the books tended to have some of the traditional characteristics, but not all. The books contained previously unpublished works, by living authors, rather than reprints of classic texts from the past.

Pamphlets

In contrast to the limited edition is the pamphlet, though both were often produced in small number. The Pamphlet series are one element of Hogarth Press publications that have received relatively little attention. By nature the pamphlet is meant for immediate consumption and is not designed to last. Generally slight and rather fragile, the pamphlet is a genre lower on the hierarchy of bibliographical documents, below books and closer to a newspaper. The first pamphlet series produced by the Hogarth Press, the Hogarth Essays, started in October of 1924. Though three volumes were published at this time, the launching essay and the one labeled "NO. 1," is Virginia Woolf's *Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown.* Once again Woolf's work and name are used to launch the Press into new waters. The other October publications were *The Artist and Psycho-Analysis* by Roger Fry, and *Henry James at Work* by Theodora Bosanquet. The latter was handprinted by the Woolfs. Leonard recounts that the pamphlet was "a form of publication which nearly all publishers fought (still fight) shy of because they always involve a good deal of work and a loss of money," yet he "was eager to have a series of pamphlets in which one could have essays on contemporary political and social problems as well as on art and criticism" (*Downhill* 161). The genre and its physical nature is important. Small, short and cheap, the pamphlet is suited to debate, breadth of readership and opinion, and rapidity of response. In some of the series authors respond to previous publications and the genre is in this way interactive. Lehmann describes the Hogarth Letters series:

> little booklets in paper covers of six or seven thousand words in length, on all the topics of the day, and some—like our very first, E.M. Forster's *Letter to Madan* [sic] *Blanchard*—timeless. We roped in Raymond Mortimer to write on the French Exhibition at Burlington House that was one of the great artistic landmarks of the year; Leonard Strong to pay a tribute to W.B. Yeats; Viscount Cecil to write a *Letter to an M.P. on Disarmament*; and many other authors, [...] they were not expensive to produce, and aroused much lively discussion. (29)

Cheap and ephemeral, pamphlets would circulate, but not necessarily last. As occasional publications and lower on the hierarchy of objects of study, it is important



THE HOGARTH ESSAYS

MR. BENNETT AND
MRS. BROWN

VIRGINIA WOOLF

THE HOGARTH PRESS

Bell's cover for the Hogarth Essays

to include them here for a new understanding of the Press that emphasizes its responsive and democratic aspects.

The pamphlets were closely associated with the Press and its reputation, not only by the title of the series, printed on all the volumes as an identifying category, but the covers were also all designed by Vanessa Bell and the pamphlets look like Hogarth Press products. They also looked similar to early Hogarth Press publications, bound in stiff paper, but the covers varied in layout and typeface as was characteristic. There was little uniformity in the series, save Bell's identifiable style. The first four pamphlets, all published in 1924, have Bell's cover design of a woman reading, but while the cover is done in black ink for *Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown*, it is done in green for *Henry James at Work*. The covers changed in 1925 to a different Bell design. The new cover depicts a vase of flowers. In 1926 when the Second Series began the cover changed again, and a further three issues of this series in 1928 used yet another Bell design. The essays were priced between 1s.6d. and 3s.6d. The size of all the print runs is not known, but those that are known are generally 1,000 or 2,000 copies. Leonard proudly states, "None of them sold a large number of copies, but every one of them, when they went out of print, had made a profit" (*Downhill* 161). Despite his earlier statement about the impossible economics of the pamphlet series the Press was able to make their publication work. There were nineteen volumes in the first series of essays between 1924 and 1926, sixteen volumes in the second series between 1926 and 1928, and a single volume in the third series in 1947. Other earlier series included The Hogarth Lectures on Literature (1927-1934), Hogarth Living Poets (1928-1937), Hogarth Letters (1931-1933), and Hogarth Sixpenny Pamphlets

(1939). The prominent and unifiying feature of the series is the name Hogarth. While "The Living Poets and the Lectures were highly successful [Leonard Woolf] was over-optimistic about the other two. They contained some interesting and amusing essays [...]. But it was impossible to sell enough of them at 6d. and 1s. to make both ends meet" (*Downhill* 163).

The Day to Day Pamphlets was one of the larger series and began in 1930. This series was "devoted entirely to politics, bound in paper, and published at 1s. or 1s.6d. In the nine years between 1930 and 1939 [they] published 40 pamphlets" (*Downhill* 161). Among the authors were W.H. Auden, H.G. Wells, Arthur Ponsonby, C. Day Lewis, and Benito Mussolini. Leonard notes, "This series also paid its way. It was significant of the political climate in the 1930s that the two best-sellers were Mussolini's *The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism* and Maurice Dobb's *Russia Today and Tomorrow*" (*Downhill* 161). Marcus argues that the "extensive publication of pamphlet literature on a variety of topics clearly relates to the 'manifesto-making' of modernist culture, but is in this case also the sign of a press with strong links to the political institutions of the Left, including the Labour Party and the Fabian Society, and with commitments to disarmament and anti-imperialism" (128). In this way the Press made important cultural contributions "as interventions into specific cultural and political debates—aesthetics, feminism, pacifism and disarmament, imperialism and anti-imperialism, communism and Soviet Russia, fascism" (Marcus 129). The Press was a conduit for developments in twentieth century thought.

Less important here, however, than whom they were publishing and the content, is the form for what it reveals about the institution. With the focus on politics the timeliness became of even greater importance, the price decreased, and some pamphlets sold large numbers. For example, the Press originally published 1,500 copies of *Russia To-day and To-Morrow* and it went into a third impression (Woolmer 81). Leonard notes the time dependent nature of the pamphlet in his autobiography: "if you publish one by the right person at the right moment on some controversial subject, it will be a best-seller. We printed 7,000 copies of *The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill* by Maynard and they sold out at once, but in the general run [...] we did well if we sold over 2,000 copies" (*Downhill* 162). In order to publish the right number, at the right moment, a Press must be very in tune with the intellectual climate of the times. Generally, the Press was.

Another significant problem with the pamphlet is one of distribution. Not all booksellers want such a work with small profits and quick turnover. Leonard recounts:

> The pamphlet is an awkward and troublesome kind of book to sell, and most bookshops will not look at them. The railway bookstall, which is the right place to market them, also dislikes them not without reason, as they are not nearly as lucrative as newspapers or that vast range of lurid or alluring publications on whose covers are portrayed murder and rape or the superfeminized female form in every stage of dress or nudity. (*Downhill* 162)

The railway bookstall would be the right place to market them because, in part, of the length, one suited to a shorter journey. From the bookstall owner's perspective, however, the form is one inferior to the newspaper with a much more frequent rate of publication, and so the pamphlet is both too time dependent and not time dependent enough. Leonard also talks about the need for a habit in reading a genre. Since the distribution of pamphlets is difficult,

> the British have never acquired the habit of reading pamphlets. This is a great pity. The pamphlet is potentially an extraordinarily good literary form from both the artistic and the social or political point of view. Those which we published by T.S. Eliot, Roger Fry, Virginia, Maynard Keynes, J.A. Hobson, were remarkable and would never have been written if we had not had this series […]. Our experience showed us that there is a potential market for the pamphlet. The potentiality never becomes actuality because all avenues of sale between publisher and purchaser are closed or obstructed. And so the habit of writing and reading pamphlets cannot establish itself. (*Downhill* 162)

Pamphlets do allow for certain works and ideas to find an outlet that they would not elsewhere, and publishing such works was a stated goal of the Hogarth Press from the start.

One important and little explored result of the pamphlet series is the impact it had on the publication history of Virginia Woolf. I would argue that with the success of the pamphlet series in the mid 1920s, a pattern was being established that helped in the creation of the Uniform Edition of Woolf's works. Leonard recalls that the pamphlets showed the Press "how valuable from the business point of view a series is to a publisher. If one gets a series started successfully with good books, it makes it possible subsequently to publish in the series successfully other books which, if published on their own, however good they might be, would almost certainly have made a substantial loss" (*Downhill* 163). People will keep buying a series and there is an increased recognition.

Uniform Editions

Clearly the Press was aware of the importance of a series for a publisher. This provides a useful context, then, for examining the Uniform Editions. Another later marketing strategy involving Virginia Woolf's reputation as an author as well as the reputation and finances of the Press is the 1929 Uniform Edition. Reissuing Woolf's works had been a Press practice since 1919 when it republished *The Mark on the Wall*. In 1929 the focus on Woolf's works was more comprehensive and formalized. The Press reprinted the first editions of *The Voyage Out*, *Jacob's Room*, *The Common Reader* and *Mrs. Dalloway* by photo-offset. The books were bound in jade-green cloth and the price was reduced to 5s. In 1930, *To the Lighthouse*, *Night and Day* and *A Room of One's Own* were issued in this edition. According to Willis, the "Uniform Editions in small crown octavo volumes [...] marked one more stage in the evolution of the Hogarth Press into a commercial publishing house" (155). The new edition also meant "easier production, lower reprinting costs, and certain marketing advantages in the attractive uniform volumes" (Willis 156). Reprinting Woolf's works as a series, keeping them in print, shows their importance both to the Press and as an artistic achievement, while she was in mid-career. The cultural significance of a second trade edition is established through the historical precedents. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, large-sized volumes were "used for serious literature" while the "smaller were used for the cheap editions reserved for popular literature" (Genette

18). Over time, however, "serious works that also proved commercially successful could be put out in a new edition in 'small format'" (Genette 18) and therefore there was ambiguity in the meaning of a cheaper edition. The "pocket format [was] capable of connoting equally well a work's 'popular' nature or its admission into the pantheon of classics" (Genette 18).

The Hogarth Press seems to have intended the latter with the issue of all of Woolf's novels in a cheaper, if not always smaller, edition. The novels were given pride of place in Press lists and catalogues, and were the priority to be kept in print during wartime paper shortages. Once again, however, the ambiguity is useful; the works were popular and they did sell well. Willis notes that the decision to publish the Uniform Edition is a dual assertion of both "the commercial value of Virginia's novels and their claim to artistic greatness. They were confirmed in their judgment not only by sales but by the eagerness of both Chatto & Windus and Faber & Faber to reprint the novels in 1931" (156). The move is at once elitist and democratic. John Young writes, "By issuing the Uniform Editions as part of an expanding set [...] Hogarth fosters its consumers' desire to own an entire collection. 'Virginia Woolf' the brand name thus becomes legible as both canonically and commercially significant" (238). The choice of colour can also aid in the recognizability of a series.

The Uniform Edition was issued with green covers. Production records reveal that in 1933, the Press wanted the Uniform Edition of *Flush* to be bound in the "same green cloth as recently used for *The Common Reader*" and that it would like all Uniform Editions in the same brightened tone (Reading 556). As with the paper and sizing of the edition (discussed in Chapter Two), the green cloth of the covers "varies from a dull to a bright jade-green" (Kirkpatrick 8). Vanessa Bell did "a very stylish typographical design for the Uniform Edition" (Kennedy 80), featuring the Press logo. The dust-jackets also varied in colour. Many were "pale peacock-blue" and "printed in navy-blue," some "pale green […] printed in green" (Kirkpatrick 29), some yellow and printed in green (Kirkpatrick 101). The book jackets in peacock blue paper were done for multiple volumes at once (Reading 546).

The typography and design of the Uniform Editions is also interesting in its attention to detail, despite the lack of uniformity. The paper chosen was "Drury improved antique wove" and the Press wrote to the printer, Lowe and Brydone, in 1929, that the pages should be printed "with the imposition required for a Quad Dexter folding" (Reading 546). Antique wove paper is "a light bulky rough-surfaced paper of good quality. The finish is matt, the paper being neither calendered nor coated. It is suitable for printing type and line engravings, […] and is used for most books without blocks" (Glaister 13). During production the Press asked the printers to send sample pages for Press approval. The Press asked, for instance, for sample pages of *The Voyage Out* "with alternatively a length of line 19 ems and 20 ems" (Reading 546). Samples, directed by the Press, were required "so that we may decide upon the best type area for the page" (Reading 546) and were not left solely to the discretion of the printers. This again seems to counter Rosenbaum's claim that little attention was paid to design.

In 1933 more copies of the Uniform Editions were produced by the Replika process: "the trade name for a method of photolitho facsimile printing practiced by Percy Lund, Humphries & Co. of Bradford. The main use is for printing out-of-print books when standing type is not available; corrections can be made before photographing the original" and "By keeping, to the publisher's order, the photographic negatives of the reprints the firm can make further issues at any time without bulky storage problems" (Glaister 414). Woolf's works were going to be used for further reprints and making them available thus was a move on behalf of posterity and practicality. Canonical and commercial significance occur at once and coexist even as they are in tension.

Collector value

The increasing value of certain Hogarth Press books, and the publicizing of this fact began early. In the announcement issued by The Hogarth Press on its fifth anniversary it states, "our first publication *Two Stories* by Leonard and Virginia Woolf, originally published at one shilling and sixpence, now fetches twenty-five shillings in the second-hand bookshops" (I.Q.3.a). Spater and Parsons note, "This was in 1922. On December 16, 1974 a copy of the same publication was sold in London at Sotheby's for £380. T.S. Eliot's *Poems*, published by the Press at two shillings and sixpence, has not appeared at public auction for a number of years, but a copy has recently been offered by an American bookseller for 650 dollars" (112). Today *Poems* is worth much more, monetarily: in 2007, copies were selling for over $20,000 US.[40] A signed copy of the Hogarth Press's *The Waste Land*, inscribed to Geoffrey

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[40] Peter Harrington Antiquarian Bookseller lists a copy for sale for $20,661,63, describing it as "One of the signature publications of the entire Bloomsbury movement. A rare and exquisite manifestation of Modernism in the English context. Stylistically this little book is perfectly in keeping with others printed by the Woolfs themselves—one thinks of *Kew Gardens*, *The Flying Scroll* and so forth. But unlike

Faber is for sale for $175,623.83. This book appeals to a number of overlapping collector markets, Hogarth Press collectors, Eliot collectors, handprinting collectors, etc. Rarity is key. Further, what makes a book more desirable, in addition to its condition and the inclusion of a dust-jacket, is the author's signature and its provenance. However, there are some surprisingly affordable Hogarth Press publications. Apparently undesirable is Bonamy Dobree's *Histriophone* (1925), despite the fact that only 267 copies exist of this Hogarth Essay and the pamphlet bears the new Bell cover design. I recently purchased a copy in good condition for $5. There is no substitute for the feel and weight of the leaves of paper, the smell of a book, the weight in your hand. People want to buy books to experience them and to attempt to get closer to the people behind them. In the case of the Hogarth Press it is possible to touch something touched by Virginia Woolf.

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these publications, Eliot's would lead to a wholly new era of English Literature—it functioned as a kind of clarion call, heralding the revolution that would come in 1922-1923 with the publication of *The Waste Land*" (*Poems*).

Chapter Four

Disinterested Interests: Invisible and Visible Advertising and Publicity[41]

Advertisements and other types of ephemera do not count. These materials are invisible or at least of second-rate importance to librarians, archivists and even literary scholars. At the University of Sussex, when I requested to see the Hogarth Press publicity file, the librarian questioned whether I knew what it was and whether it was actually what I wanted. In a collection where what is available to the researchers are photocopies of files, I was handed a stack of originals. In a collection of papers much gone over, this file was relatively unexplored material because of its generally perceived lack of value.

Advertising, as a discourse, creates its subject as well as the desire for the object.[42] Hogarth Press advertising and official rhetoric is impressive for the ways it situates Press motives and products as noncommercial and disinterested art objects, while at the same time negotiating considerable commercial success with books as commodities. There are further complications to studying the relation of the Hogarth Press to the market. The first item printed and circulated by the Hogarth Press was, in fact, an advertisement, but it has not counted as a publication. Examining the ephemera of the Press, the material often ignored, achieves a different understanding of the institution. The advertising practices of the Hogarth Press are not a main focus for scholars writing about the Woolfs or even for those writing about the Press. J.H. Willis in his *Leonard and Virginia Woolf as Publishers* mentions, in places, some advertising practices but does not dedicate a chapter or any sustained attention to them. The marketing and advertising strategies of the Press, often making use of the reputation of the works and authors they published, resulted in some striking successes. The sales of Woolf's novel *The Waves* in 1931, over a decade after the Press was founded, reveal that "the public apparently ha[d] decided that to be IT one must have *The Waves* on the drawing-room table" (Lehmann 28). "IT" status could be conferred in Britain by a book authored by Woolf and published by the Hogarth Press. Woolf herself, as a publisher, kept in mind the potential marketing draw of Vanessa Bell's jackets and even suggested in 1918 that Bell design a general cover that could be used for multiple works of hers as a "tremendous draw" (*Letters* 2: 298). Despite the cachet of *The Waves*, Woolf feared for its financial failure and writes in a letter to Vita Sackville-West that she wrote *Flush* in hopes "to stem the ruin we shall suffer from the failure of *The Waves*. This is the worst publishing season on record. No bookseller dares buy" (*Letters* 4: 380). Critics and scholars have largely ignored Woolf's awareness of finances and the Hogarth Press's sales strategies.

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[41] A version of this chapter has been accepted for publication. *Virginia Woolf's Bloomsbury: Aesthetic Theory and Literary Practice*. Ed. Lisa Shahriari and Gina Vitello. Palgrave and Macmillan. Publication Forthcoming.

[42] Advertising explains to the consumer how to see and understand the object it is describing. Advertisements themselves, as in the archive example, are typically not viewed or understood as subjects of interest in themselves. As Jennifer Wicke notes, an advertisement, as with "every cultural artifact is produced by individual makers, by institutional settings, by collective aspirations and values, by its historical relation to the forms and genres that surround it, by its adoption and use by a public, and by its place in an overall political economy. When we 'read' cultural artifacts all these forces are in play" (16).

Leonard Woolf, with one eye to posterity, left a seemingly full, candid and compelling account of the Press. Many critics take this as the starting place for their analysis rather than challenging his narrative with archival records and other material evidence. The purpose of this chapter is to give both a general sense of the Hogarth

Press's advertising practices and rhetoric as well as a more focused account of the publicity practices surrounding and shaping some of Woolf's texts. When the advertising practices of the Press are examined, they often contradict the official version of what the Press claims to be doing, published in Press announcements and catalogues. As with many aspects of the Hogarth Press, the contradictions are productive. I argue that the Hogarth Press as an institution, and both Leonard and Virginia Woolf as publishers were more savvy and sophisticated marketers than history has given them credit for.

In the last decade there has been an increasing awareness of modernism's interestedness, that is, its complicity, with the literary and more widely commercial marketplace despite its claims to the contrary.[43] One main focus of many of these books is the little magazines as the key institutions for publicizing modernist works and ideas. Private presses are also key. Further, certain vestiges of the old understanding of modernist art and production remain compelling: the oppositions between high and popular culture, commercial and non-commercial. Or, these binaries are collapsed. I do not argue that these vestiges need to be overturned and a "new" understanding be adopted, nor that the terms are irrelevant, but rather that the situation is more complex than often acknowledged. The Hogarth Press played with the oppositions, drawing from both sides in rhetoric and practices, neither a typical private press nor a typical commercial Press. In the case of Virginia Woolf, a figure invested with personal desires by many people, she has a number of oft-repeated, overly-simplified narratives surrounding "her" life. The story of the Hogarth Press is one of these. There have been studies of modernist presses and small publishers (Dennison, Benstock) but little study has been done that focuses on publishers as key mediators of the market and publicity. The interaction between books and readers is determined in part by how the reader comes to know of the book, what the publisher's imprint and name mean as a categorizer, and what that purchase can then confer on the buyer.

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[43] Dettmar and Watt's *Marketing Modernisms: Self-Promotion, Canonization, Rereading* (1996); *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace* (1996) Ed. Chernaik; Lawrence Rainey's *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (1998); Morrison's *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception 1905-1920* (2001); *Marketing the Author: Authorial Personae, Narrative Selves and Self-Fashioning, 1880-1930* Ed. Marysa Demoor (2004); among others, reveal this new understanding.

Book History

The gap of literary advertising is also a result of the fact that, as of yet, book history has given little sustained attention to advertising in the circuits of production. Adams and Barker do not have a section on advertising or specifically include the term in their circuit, but it is one component of what they term "distribution" (25). In their model, commercial pressures affect distribution, and to a lesser extent, manufacture and reception. The focus of the "distribution" section is on the physical movement of books. Though Adams and Barker list advertisements as one factor "that points to the intended audience" (25), advertising is given relatively little attention, perhaps because it evokes other discourses and disciplines. I have chosen to dedicate an entire chapter to advertising because it is central to understanding a publisher; advertising is a key component in formulating a publisher's brand, or seal of approval, the creation of which is a primary function for a publisher. In the case of the Hogarth Press, it needed to advertise differently than other publishers, or appear not to advertise at all, in order to continue to position itself outside of the mainstream.

Adams and Barker do mention the desire of people "to possess the book" as a driving force behind the movement of a book through the cycle and they multiply the types of desire to include "the wish to read the book, but to do so one must possess the object. Further, the desire to possess a book does not necessarily mean a desire to read it" (26). Some people buy books for altruistic reasons: "so that the family, or community, whose needs and wishes may differ from the owners, may benefit from what [the purchaser] acquires," others to "express[] status" (Adams and Barker 26). Advertisement in particular plays a key role in creating the desires for a book and in conveying the belief that it will convey status and an enviable identity.

Darnton includes publisher, shipper, and bookseller in his circuit—no advertiser is mentioned. One might assume that either the publisher or the bookseller, or both, might advertise a book. Darnton mentions publicity under the heading of publishers and notes that "[t]he whole subject of book advertising needs investigation. One could learn a great deal about attitudes toward books and the context of their use by studying the way they were presented—the strategy of the appeal, the values invoked by the phrasing—in all kinds of publicity, from journal notices to wall posters" (127).

Rhetorically Constructing Art

In order to examine the advertising techniques at the Hogarth Press it is first necessary to establish some changing perceptions regarding art and its relation to the market in the modernist moment. The discourses of art provide a necessary context then for analyzing the official rhetoric and publicity practices of the Hogarth Press, how they coincide with or contradict various propositions about books and art, and negotiate between finances and artistic value. As we have seen, a publisher is a capital investor, the hub of a network of production elements, often in charge of public relations, and a name/brand; it therefore must be strategic about what it does and says about money and commercial success. Publicity and advertising is one of the main functions of the publisher and how they advertise their books, along with what the books look like, helps to symbolically create them. Publicizing art, whether paintings or certain books, should not be too obvious or overtly commercial; rather, promotion "must […] be euphemized" and the overt marketing replaced with more discreet activities such as "receptions, society gatherings, and judiciously placed confidences" (Bourdieu 77). In order to understand how the Hogarth Press created the types of art objects that it did, it is important to consider the history of some of the key terms and concepts used in Press rhetoric and practices; they are used in more than one sense.

Disinterestedness is particularly key to the modern conception of art as a way of explaining its purpose and relation to the market. The concept is not exclusive to the modernist moment and Martha Woodmansee charts the beginning of the modern conception of art in the late eighteenth century. The evaluation of art shifted from its instrumentality, its effect on people, to an intrinsic value that was analogous to the theology of German pietism: one should appreciate art as one once did God, for its own sake. According to Karl Moritz, the eighteenth century writer on aesthetics, fine art “does not have its purpose outside itself, and does not exist for the sake of the perfection of anything else, but rather for the sake of its own internal perfection” (18 qtd. in Woodmansee). Woodmansee proposes that the shift in the conception of art’s purpose was a reaction to the alteration of material conditions: “rooted in the far-reaching changes in the production, distribution, and consumption of reading material that marked the later eighteenth century” (32). With the expansion of the reading public and literature becoming “subject to the laws of a market economy, the instrumentalist theory […] was found to justify the wrong works” (Woodmansee 32), i.e. the popular. In the new conception, in order to be art, works should be produced with only aesthetic intentions and had intrinsic value; it “follows then that the effects of a work of art on an audience are irrelevant to its value” (Woodmansee 18). Thus the loss of instrumentality or effect, the very difficulty of art, “could be recuperated as a (supreme) virtue” (Woodmansee 32). Art was therefore rescued “from determination by the market” (Woodmansee 33) and this view of art was very influential in the early twentieth century where it was particularly useful for difficult modernist writers whose small audiences were then signs of the virtue of their work.

Pierre Bourdieu in *The Field of Cultural Production* proposes a relation of art to the market similar to Woodmansee’s. He explains that the “literary and artistic world is so ordered that those who enter it have an interest in disinterestedness;” art “demonstrates its authenticity by the fact that it brings in no income…[and] proves its claim to authenticity by its disinterestedness” (40). Authenticity is important because with mass production possible there must be ways to create the status of art in something reproducible like a book. The literary field works according to an "autonomous principle" where those "least endowed with specific capital tend to identify [the lack] with degree of independence from the economy, seeing temporal failure as a sign of election and success as a sign of compromise" (Bourdieu 40). Since art was in part defined against that which was produced for mass consumption, accessibility and popularity then could be problems—the reception could throw doubt on the intentions of the producer, the suspicion of catering to an audience rather than adhering to an artistic vision. Not only should art be produced and evaluated according to aesthetic principles, but so also should the later stages of the production of it, including the work of a publisher. Publishing could be viewed as an intrinsic act and should be, if what it produces is art. Hogarth Press publishing, as understood by some critics, was, in the philosophy of G.E. Moore, "an intrinsic activity rather than an instrumental one, something done because it was valuable in itself rather than being a means to something else such as making money" (Rosenbaum 154). This is disinterestedness by another name.

Woodmansee, Bourdieu, and others, including the modernists themselves, use language with religious connotation, emphasizing art's importance, and increased status. Art was placed in the former position of religion as providing meaning for life and "inherited the task of interpreting human experience" (Woodmansee 20). Terms such as "purity" and "elect" that are frequently employed to discuss art and those who produce and appreciate it also have religious origins. The logic of religion, as faith-based systems, opens room for the inclusion of non-rational or magical elements into the field of artistic symbols, to produce belief in the value of a work of art. Consecration accompanies production. Advertising too is a magical system that works using faith, the belief in the value of a product beyond its use value, and in the case of art, objects "that have no price" (Bourdieu 74).

Advertising plays a key, but dangerous, role in the production of value of a work of art. If the advertisements create a simply commercial commodity, or the appearance of one, it is not art. Nevertheless, a financial aspect to art must be present for artists and publishers etc. to make a living. The Hogarth Press would have problems if it made money, or too much money, if it sold too many copies, if it showed itself to be interested in things other than art. What was at stake for the Press was its ability to consecrate art objects, which could then make money over time without destroying the symbolic capital. The Press consecrates itself and its ability to do so was based significantly on the representation of its origin. The Press, remarkably, was able to maintain this balancing act for many years though the activities changed and the shift was towards the commercial.

As I will demonstrate, there is a great deal of interest in disinterestedness at the Hogarth Press. Disinterest, in the sense that one has nothing to gain or profit from an activity, generates interest in the form of curiosity and a desire to understand. It is a concept much studied in recent works of modernist criticism. Disinterestedness also creates interest in the way of a yield, a return on investment, both in terms of economic and symbolic capital that accrue in a book that is art, over time. I will explore the "interested" parties, the Hogarth Press in particular, who make use of the rhetoric of disinterestedness.

Hogarth Press Rhetoric

The official rhetoric of the Hogarth Press is very aware of the discourses of art and disinterestedness and it goes to some pains to define itself both by what it is and what it is not. On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Press, in 1922, the Press sent out a circular to "lay before you a few facts about the Hogarth Press and its future prospects" (I.Q.3.a). The announcement reviews the original aims of the Press, using the more personal first person plural rather than "the Press":

> We aimed in the first place at producing works of genuine merit which, for reasons well known and difficult to gainsay, could scarcely hope to secure publication through the ordinary channels. In the second place we were resolved to produce no book merely with a view to pecuniary profit. We meant to satisfy ourselves to the best of our ability that the work had literary or artistic merit before we undertook to produce it. (I.Q.3.a)

Such a statement reveals a sense of mission, as well as assuming the recognition of reasons, which are left unsaid. It is an appeal to those who understand already, or who want to appear to understand. The announcement goes on to assert that "[i]t had been our original intention to print every book with our own hands, but the sales much exceeded our expectation" and therefore they found themselves "compelled to issue" larger editions. They are only responding to an audience and a market; they are not creating the demand. Though their current intention is "to proceed more boldly in the future, and to publish a greater number of books and books of greater length" they assure the reader that "we do not mean to depart in any other respect from the principles which guided us in the beginning" (I.Q.3.a). The reminder of the beginning reveals the importance of the origin. The way the Press began—small, personal, handprinting works of merit—would continue to influence how it was understood, overdetermining the characterization of the Press long after the actual practices and workings of the Press had changed.

In the 1922 announcement they also emphasize that they "shall continue to give particular attention to the work of young and unknown writers" and that "it is none of our purpose to reprint the classics; nor shall we sacrifice time or money to embellish our books beyond what is necessary for ease of reading and decency of appearance" (I.Q.3.a). The Hogarth Press is here being positioned as neither a commercial publishing house nor a private fine printing press. They were a third option which then allowed for some movement between those two poles. Nearing the end of the circular is a request to clients: the "work of the Press is carried on by amateurs, in their spare time, in the somewhat cramped conditions of a private house" and "these facts are mentioned only that you may realize how greatly our labours would be lightened if those who intend to buy our books would signify their intention beforehand" (I.Q.3.a). Therefore, readers are invited to fill out the enclosed form and become an A subscriber to the Press, or a little less desirably, a B subscriber. The subscription policy of the Press will be discussed at greater length in the subsequent chapter, but for current purposes it is important to note the very personal appeal.

The circular ends with a series of lists organized alphabetically by author. The first list is of upcoming publications (not all of which appeared), including "Woolf, Virginia. A new novel," which would be *Jacob's Room*, the second is of "Our Latest Publications," and finally, "Previous Publications." The latter two lists include purchase prices for those not out of print. In 1922 the Press published two works by Freud, I.A. Bunin's *The Gentleman from San Francisco*, Dostoevsky's *Stavrogin's Confession and the Plan of the Life of a Great Sinner*, as well *as The Autobiography of Countess Sophie Tolstoi*. With a list that included such international authors of note, the announcement's stress on the amateur and hands-on involvement in the Press takes on new significance. They did handprint and publish Ruth Manning-Sanders's poem *Karn*, and Fredegond Sh[illegible]ve's *Daybreak*. While the Press's rhetoric is not false, it is selective and strategically incomplete, emphasizing desirable aspects of the less commercial practices of the Press. The rhetoric therefore shows a careful shaping of the type of Press they were promoting. Further, the timing of the anniversary publication is also a strategic promotional decision. As Willis notes, although "the first Hogarth Press book had been published in July 1917, the Woolfs chose May as the anniversary month" (63). As is often the case, there is both a personal and commercial reason for this decision: in May they had "begun setting and printing *Two Stories*. Furthermore, spring, not summer, coincided with the publishing season and was a propitious time for a flyer extolling their five-year-old and its products" (Willis 63). Sending an anniversary announcement is an example of a euphemistic advertisement; it serves the purpose of an advertisement, but it does so under a different name and with a purportedly different intention, in this case the celebration of five years of publishing.

As previously mentioned, the very first text printed on the Hogarth press and circulated by the Hogarth Press was an advertisement, a notice sent out to solicit buyers, and not *Two Stories* itself. As is frequently the case in discussions of the

Press, the work of art eclipses other types of production, genres that do not "count" for those studying the Press. In this way the advertisement is an origin that has been disguised. The notice is obviously hand-set and unevenly inked. Under a large bold heading announcing "THE HOGARTH PRESS," it reads:

> It is proposed to issue shortly a pamphlet containing two short stories by Leonard Woolf and Virginia Woolf, (price, includeing postage 1/2).
>
> If you desire a copy to be sent to you, please fill up the form below and send it with a P.O. to L.S. Woolf at the above address before June
>
> A limited edition only will be issued. (qtd. in *Letters* 2: 153)[44]

Following was a form that asked for the number of copies, total price, name and address. Even the Press's first publication invoked the limited edition rhetoric of exclusivity, playing on desire to have what not everyone can. The advertisement was specifically sent to specific people, limited. A work of this sort therefore confers distinction on the possessor as one of the select few. It is also remarkable that this circular announces the sale of their upcoming publication rather than simply a notice of its production as a gift, which was often the case for private press works. In this way the Hogarth Press is again distinguishing itself from the fine printing tradition. And, as we have seen, *Two Stories* did turn a profit.

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[44] Unable to reproduce the Caslon Old Face font used by the Hogarth Press for the announcement, the font used here is Baskerville. The two typefaces are similar, both in their eighteenth century British origin and in general appearance (Bringhurst 51 and 77). Baskerville was also used in later Hogarth Press publications.

The anniversary announcement of 1922 coincided with the expansion of the Press into novels with *Jacob's Room* and eight other titles. In 1927, the year of the publication of *To the Lighthouse* and 41 other titles, a "Complete Catalogue" was printed and in it a forward that again reminds the reader of the beginnings of the Press: a "small hand-printing machine worked as a hobby by two amateur and incompetent printers" and "in 1920 we took a step which, almost unintentionally, turned the Press into a regular publishing business." It was because they "continually received the offer of books which it was impossible for us to print ourselves and some of which were so good that we did not like to refuse them" that they used commercial printers (Q.3.a). However, the market did not simply preexist the publications, but was in part created through the advertising of the books.[45] In a lovely touch of form complementing content, the sentence that reads, "It may be pointed out, however, that the feature with which the Press started still exists and will continue to exist" has the "f" placed upside down. This physical, visual reminder of non-perfected amateur production is reinforced by the following sentence: "We still, every year, publish a sprinkling of thin volumes which we print ourselves in our spare time" (Q.3.a). The catalogue forward also restates their purpose:

> We print them [the thin volumes] because we believe—and the past ten years have confirmed our belief—that some of the best and most original work of our time is, in the beginning at least, almost unmarketable, and that only by minimizing cost of production it is possible for the work of the unknown

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[45] Further, the decision to print 1,000 copies of Gorky's book in July 1920, a much larger print run than any previous first publication, shows an expectation of a market, not simply a response to demand.

> young and the unbought unpopular to see the light. As proof of this we would point to the fact that we have printed and published in this way works by Katherine Mansfield, T.S. Eliot, E.M. Forster, Clive Bell, Robert Graves at a time when most of their names were unknown to the general public or very much less well known than they are to-day. (Q.3.a)

This statement of the status of their authors is a bit suspect, especially in the case of Forster and Eliot, and so it demonstrates a reinforcement of the mission of the Press.

In 1927 Leonard wrote an article for the *Nation and Athenaeum* "On Advertising Books" where he relates his "belief that books are, in general, not a commodity which, like patent medicines, cigarettes, or mustard, the consumer buys or can be induced to buy by the skill of the advertiser alone" (849). He is associated with the Hogarth Press even when he is not officially speaking for it. The article is indirect Press rhetoric and a more subtle public relations opportunity. The forum of the periodical article allows him to explain the situation of "the book-producing industry," which "tells against the book of real literary or scientific or philosophic merit for which, even in the best case, there must be a small public" (849). He reiterates the connection between the small public and a work of merit, fostering that interpretation of book sales among a larger public, a useful interpretation for Hogarth Press sales. Leonard Woolf's other roles in the London literary world also affected, and in many cases benefited the Press.

Leonard's article, along with other pieces of his writing and some by Virginia, functions as paratext for works produced at the Press. The paratext is "a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of pragmatics and strategy, of an influence on the public" (Genette 2). The part of the paratext of particular interest here is the more distanced aspect, the epitext which includes messages originally "outside the book" whether interviews, conversations, or "private communications (letters, diaries, and others)" (Genette 5). The "epitext—in contrast to the peritext—consists of a group of discourses whose function is not always basically paratextual (that is, to present and comment on the text)" (Genette 345). Genette includes a section on "the publisher's epitext," which is usually "posters, advertisements, press releases and other prospectuses" (347). One important aspect of the publisher's epitext is the nature and characterization of that publisher, including a publishing institution's rhetoric about itself and what the publishers say about it. The function of the publisher's epitext is "basically marketing and 'promotional'" and "does not always involve the responsibility of the author in a very meaningful way; most often he is satisfied just to close his eyes officially to the value-inflating hyperbole inseparable from the needs of trade" (Genette 347). In this case the authors were fundamentally responsible for the publisher's epitext in the instances of their own texts. Further, Genette discusses the "pragmatic status of a paratextual element" according to the characteristics of its situation of communication: the nature of the sender and addressee, the sender's degree of authority and responsibility, the illocutionary force of the sender's message" (8). Both Leonard and Virginia can speak as authors and as publishers. A publisher has the cultural capital as a selector and consecrator of art and authors. Being an increasingly recognized, praised, and well-selling author, Virginia had artistic authority behind her statements; Leonard was an increasingly well-known and respected political writer.

The dual roles of authors and publishers impacted on each other and the force of the statements. Genette distinguishes the official from the unofficial paratext based on whether a "paratextual message [is] openly accepted by the author or publisher or both" (10). The situation with the Hogarth Press is complicated and magnified because of the multiple roles and differing types of authority held by the same persons. Both Leonard and Virginia spoke about the Press and that characterization shaped the understanding of the institution along with everything it produced. Virginia Woolf's success as an author, as judged by external sources—critical acclaim, awards, positive reviews—meant credibility for the Hogarth Press as her publisher.[46]

A letter from Virginia Woolf, both an author and publishing partner of the Press, is an example of the expanded publisher's epitext, which influenced the characterization and understanding of the Press. In May of 1918 she wrote the official Hogarth Press letter to Harriet Weaver regarding the publication of *Ulysses*. After writing that unfortunately their resources were inadequate to print such a long book she reiterates the goals of the Press, sounding very much like Leonard: "We very much regret this as it is our aim to produce writing of merit which the ordinary publisher refuses" (*Letters* 2: 242). Woolf's public opinion, as official voice of the Press, was quite different from her private views. In a letter to Lytton Strachey she writes of the novel, "I don't believe that his method, which is highly developed, means much more than cutting out the explanations and putting in the thoughts between dashes. So I don't think we shall do it" (*Letters* 2: 234). The official letter also contradicts the common assumption that all business aspects of the Press were handled exclusively by Leonard and Virginia had no concern for the pragmatic matters of publishing.[47]

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[46] For a more extensive account of the authorizing function of the Press see Chapter One.

Woolf reveals some of her views of the Press in a letter to Ralph Partridge on the 10th of November, 1922 regarding a conversation they had had about the possible sale of the Press to Constable. Woolf says she is "indignant with [Partridge] for going on to suggest that we were ready, as you said, to 'sell the press to the highest bidder'" and thinks she "may have left [him] with the impression that [she is] in favour of amalgamation with some big firm in order to increase the publicity of my own books and profits. If you do think this, you are quite wrong." She goes on to clarify that what made her

> blood boil was your assumption that Leonard and I are quite ready to be bamboozled with a bargain which would destroy the character of the press for the sake of money or pride or convenience; and that you must protect its rights. After all we have given the press whatever character it may have, and if you're going to tell me that you care more about it than I do, or know better what's good for it, I must reply that you're a donkey. (*Letters* 2: 583)

There is certainly some humour in her comments but she is pointed in her remarks about the importance of understanding the motivations for the Press and clarifying what the priorities are. She also makes clear the sense of responsibility she and Leonard feel for its character.

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[47] For further discussion of her involvement see Chapter Two.

Woolf asserts her dual role influence in a piece of combined authorial and publisher's epitext in 1930 when she discusses one of her own works which was printed and published by the Press. She wrote a letter to a Hogarth Press customer about *On Being Ill*, which the Woolfs had printed themselves. In her letter she writes, "I agree that the colour is uneven, the letters not always clear, the spacing inaccurate, and the word 'campion' should read 'companion'" (*Letters* 4: 260). However, she goes on to explain, "All I have to urge in excuse is that printing is a hobby carried on in the basement of a London house; that as amateurs all instruction in the art was denied us" and that "we practice printing in the intervals of lives that are otherwise engaged" (*Letters* 4: 260). In conclusion she notes, the customer can sell the copy "for more than the guinea you gave, as the edition is largely over subscribed" (*Letters* 4: 260). Her explanation both reaffirms the hobby status of the Press and acknowledges the monetary value of the book independent of the literary value. It is also the small print run and personal production of the text which both creates an "inferior" and more valuable object. Such a letter reveals Woolf's awareness of the discourses and economics involved in book production. At this point we will turn our attention from rhetoric to more overt advertising practices, from the more euphemistic to the less.

Advertising Practices

First a few words about the context of twentieth-century advertising more generally. Within this context then, modernist advertising, publishing practices, and specifically book advertising, become readable in a new way. There are some striking relations between modernist conceptions of art and its relation to the market and consumption. Art was seen to need to differentiate itself from mass-market products to be considered art, and yet the disassociation, in practice, could not be complete if the art was to circulate. Though much work has been done to show how modernist writers were, in fact, engaged with the market, this does not nullify the compelling discourse that asserts the opposite.

Raymond Williams argues that the "half-century between 1880 and 1930, then, saw the full development of an organized system of commercial information and persuasion, as part of the modern distributive system in conditions of large-scale capitalism" (*Problems* 179). Advertising became much more sophisticated with the increasing importance of its role in the economy. Advertising in the twentieth century developed as both a science and an art. In modern advertising "Basic principles have to be observed, psychological factors taken into account, artistic talents exercised, and the skill of craftsmen in many trades employed" (Preston and Arch viii). Books such as *The Psychology of Advertising* (1908) did studies to show, for example, that "the value of an advertisement increases as the size of the advertisement increases, and the increase of value is greater than the increase in the amount of space filled" (177). Books like *The Art of Selling Goods* (1907) and *Illustration in Advertising* (1925), give practical advice on "What salesmanship is" (Wooley 5) and how to cultivate customer loyalty. Larned in the book of 1925, explains that "Commercially speaking, the woodcut, even to this day, serves a purpose which no subsequent process or technique has managed to excel" (255). The woodcut has both a long history and a very modern application. Advertising, particularly in its use of typefaces, like literature, was distinguishing itself from the more recent past, the "grotesque styles of the last half-century, which were neither legible nor good to look upon," and "are giving place to revivals of older types or new styles evolved on the principles which governed the beautiful work of the old craftsmen" (Preston and Arch 132). The shift from presenting a product to consumers or reminding them of an item, to creating a demand can be seen in the 1927 *Advertising Printing and Art in Commerce* when the authors instruct the advertiser to "play upon emotional value" (10) of a product.

Williams goes on to explain that advertising begins to function as a "magic system" in which consumption is associated with "human desires to which it has no real reference" (*Problems*189). A person, therefore, does not "only buy an object: [she/he] buy[s] social respect, discrimination, health, beauty, success, power to control your environment" (Williams *Problems* 189). There is limited success in achieving some desires if a person makes "the right purchases within a system of meanings to which [the group is] all trained" (Williams *Problems* 189).

When the advertiser is a publisher and the object being advertised is a book, the situation changes a bit. Much discussion about book advertising at the time focused on the idea that books were unlike other consumer products. Stanley Unwin asserts, the "ordinary advertising expert is of little assistance to the book publisher" (242). Since books are unique there is a relatively small budget for each title, "the demand for publishers' wares is seldom repetitive, like the demand which successful advertising can secure for, let us say, soap or cigarettes" (S. Unwin 243). The bookseller J. G. Wilson echoes the idea of books as a special kind of commodity when he cautions, "If booksellers are to avoid the mere exploitation of books as merchandise, this function of display must be performed with intelligence based upon proper training" (129). Booksellers were cultural agents with responsibilities beyond simply selling the largest number of books without distinction.[48] In addition to the satisfied demand there is "an added difficulty, and that is that we may nearly all be potential buyers of some particular brand of soap, but there are few books of which more than an infinitesimal fraction of the public can truthfully be regarded as potential purchasers" (S. Unwin 243). This means that targeted advertising becomes very important. Rather than advertising generally in the daily papers, it becomes better practice to choose those papers with a particular readership suited to the types of books being advertised. Advertising can "remind or stimulate people to whom the thought of buying the book had already occurred, rather than to create a bookbuyer out of the void" (S. Unwin 246). The Hogarth Press recognized this and chose its papers accordingly, such as the *Times Literary Supplement* and *The Nation*. Categorization of both books and papers was thus of great importance.

Further, there is a temporal aspect to advertising. If a large amount of money is spent on advertising, the results often occur after a delay; "it is the following books by the same author that derive the maximum benefit from any extensive advertising" (S. Unwin 247). The examples of Woolf's novels bear this out to some extent, but, as Unwin argues, it "is truly said that the best way to start the sale of a book is to get it talked about by the right people" (237) and this was the case with *The Waves*. It created buzz, in part through the distribution of copies to critics and reviewers, the right taste-makers, who could increase the book's symbolic capital.

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[48] For an extended discussion of booksellers and their roles in the book trade, see Chapter Five.

Basil Blackwell suggests alternate strategies for increasing book consumption more generally. Rather than expecting people to buy books “for the sake of reading them, […] the advertising expert knows that it is not enough to excite the reasonable desire to purchase a thing for the use or pleasure it may provide. Human frailties or foibles must be exploited as contributing motives” (47). He therefore suggests that a “happy phrase oft repeated in a number of popular papers might well catch fire and fix a million minds at once on the *respectability* of books in the home” (47) and that through advertising people might be induced to “read books as well as to buy them, not so much for the joy of reading, at first, as for the fear of being found ill-read” (48). Blackwell’s views on bookselling were part of a collection put together and published by the Hogarth Press, *Books and the Public* (1927), with Leonard Woolf as one of the contributors. Unwin, too, asserts that advertising cannot make a book that is not selling sell; however, an advertising campaign can be successful “in the case of sets of books, when it has been possible to convince the public that they are needed as articles of furniture in their homes” (S. Unwin 247).

Hogarth Press Advertisements

Practices and rhetoric at the Hogarth Press were contradictory and useful. They were supplementary and even mutually dependent. The Press had already established a certain reputation and niche as small and noncommercial through early practices and products. The continuation of handprinting is one way that the Press reminded people of its origin and early characterization. Such decisions also continue to emphasize their market niche and positioning.

The fact that one of the functions of a publisher is the creating of awareness of and desire for the books they are publishing makes the lack of sustained attention to this aspect of the Hogarth Press all the more surprising. An examination of exemplary Hogarth Press advertising techniques is revealing for how the negotiation works between art and commercialism. The early advertising was fairly personal, small in scale and sometimes took the form of notices sent to friends. These notices bear a similarity to earlier types of advertising in which the purpose is to alert possible consumers of availability. Logan Pearsall Smith recalls, "for the marketing of [*Two Stories* he] had distributed some notices among my friends" (qtd. in Stape 54). Over time there was a shift toward a more public and commercial business, but the oscillation between more and less obviously commercial practices continued.

According to Willis, the press placed its first advertisements in July 1920 (375).[49] They put print ads in *The Times, Nation, Manchester Guardian,* and *New Statesman* that listed eight titles: Gorky's *Tolstoi*, E.M. Forster's *Story of the Siren*, Logan Pearsall Smith's *Stories from the Old Testament*, Hope Mirrlees's *Paris*, Katherine Mansfield's *Prelude*, J.M. Murry's *Critic in Judgment*, and Virginia Woolf's *Kew Gardens* and *The Mark on the Wall*. The single column ad, at the top, "announced 'The Hogarth Press,' then followed with the titles of eight works with the authors' names and prices" (Willis 375). Here, the emphasis is on the publisher, being associated and defined by the list. The early print ads were fairly simple. Willis notes that the "style used in the early Hogarth Press ads was visually unsophisticated, the type heavy and black, the copy cramped, this list of titles and prices assaulting and dulling the eye" (375). These ads did not differ greatly from other publishers' advertisements at the time. Hogarth Press advertisements did not remain static: "By 1926 Leonard Woolf had lightened the Hogarth Press ads, reducing the number of titles to two or three and using a variety of type sizes so that the author's name or the books' title stood out clearly from the supporting copy. Woolf followed the example of the better houses by regularly including puffs from reviewers" (Willis 376). Advertisements from *The Times* show the use of reviewers' puffs was common practice by at least as early as 1922. By 1938 they "had begun to run the press name at the bottom of the ad, continuing to emphasize the product, not the producer" (Willis 376). The Hogarth Press took care of the design and distribution of print ads, circulars and leaflets and Leonard protested if authors sent in their own ads, noting in a letter to an interfering author, "the style of advertising is of 'material importance' to a publisher" (qtd. in Willis 377). Where they placed ads was also an important consideration and they tended to only use the "serious publications."

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[49] Spater and Parsons note there was an advertising budget for *Prelude* (102).

Willis's date for the start of Press advertising excludes the practice of sending out review copies. With review copies the Press sought to begin the recognition of the book as a work of art through the legitimation of reviewers and the periodicals that published the reviews, as well as increase the publicity for the title. In Bourdieu's conception, "Every critical affirmation contains, on the one hand, a recognition of the value of the work which occasions it [...] and on the other hand an affirmation of its own legitimacy," and they participate in "the production of the value of the work of art" (36). The value of a named reviewer's comments "is proportionate to the credit [s/he] [him/herself] command[s]" (Bourdieu 78) so that the book accumulates credits based on the author, publisher and reviewer, among others. The practice of sending out review copies of Hogarth Press publications began earlier than 1920. According to Rosenbaum, in 1919, "Eliot's *Poems* together with *Kew Gardens* were the first review copies the Woolfs sent out" (Rosenbaum 144). Leonard, however, recalls that the first review copies were sent out with the second publication, in 1918: "When we started printing and publishing with our Publication No. 1, we did not send out any review copies, but in the case of *Prelude*, Tom's *Poems*, and *Kew Gardens* we sent review copies to *The Times Literary Supplement*" (*Beginning* 241). Six review copies were sent out for Eliot's book, four for Mansfield's (I.Q.1.a).

Finding reviewers was quite an easy task for people with the connections that Virginia and Leonard Woolf had. In Willis's words, "Both Leonard and Virginia Woolf had some edge over other publishers in this matter because they were well-established and prominent reviewers and literary journalists themselves, knew well the other members of the tribe, and so could hope for respectful attention to their publications" (379). Leonard Woolf was the literary editor at the *Nation and Athenaeum* between 1923 and 1930 and this would have been useful for locating reviewers for Hogarth Press books. John Lehmann, when looking for a reason for the surprisingly brisk sales in 1931 of John Hampson's first novel *Saturday Night at the Greyhound*, remarks that he "trace[s] it to a puff by Harold Nicolson, good friend to the Press that he is" (15). Lee discusses the dangers of using these personal and professional connections for the advantage of the Press. She writes, "Leonard would as literary editor be very careful about seeming to promote Hogarth Press books" (368) and mentions only one instance where there was slip in vigilance. Lee asserts:

> They did not repeat one unfortunate early piece of 'clique-puffery', when in 1919 they reviewed, anonymously and jointly, two of their own Hogarth Press publications, Eliot's *Poems* and Murry's critical essay. Murry was the editor of the magazine they were writing for, the *Athenaeum*, and had commissioned the piece. As might be expected, the review read somewhat stiffly, and when Virginia referred in it to the 'uncompromising' nature of the Hogarth Press's 'little books' (she used the word twice) she may have been prompted by feeling that this was a compromised review. (368)

What Lee suggests did continue were other, less substantial, kinds of overlap between various roles held by the Woolfs. She mentions that "in later years the literary pages of the *Nation* would have a review by Virginia side-by-side with a round-up of the month's books by Leonard, or when its front page would advertise *To the Lighthouse* and Leonard's *Essays* prominently on its 'Just Published' list, it would be hard for the Press not to be perceived as part of a cabal" (Lee 368). The Woolfs were enmeshed in various types of literary production and legitimation simultaneously.

Though the Woolfs may not have repeated to the same degree the circularity of reviewing Murry's book that they had published in Murry's periodical, there were other instances of strategic anonymous review of Hogarth Press books. Perhaps suitably, it was what Rosenbaum, along with Leonard, asserts was the "first avowedly commercial publication" (144), a translation of Maxim Gorky's *Reminiscences of Leo Nicolayevitch Tolstoi* published in 1920, that has a marketing twist. Virginia reviewed the publication positively in an anonymous review in the *Nation and Athenaeum*. Victor Luftig calls this "commercial cleverness" and "a well-placed puff" (5).

A more subtle form of advertising was placing a "list of press books in print run at the back of each new volume" (Willis 64). The inclusion of a publication list began early. For instance, both of the books the Woolf's handprinted in 1922 (Manning-Sanders's *Karn* and Shove's *Daybreak*) contain, near the end of the volume, a list of "previously published books and forthcoming ones" (Rhein 52). In an advertising practice such as this, the connection between the books is the publisher and the assumption, rather than based on topic or field of interest, is that the origin of their publication will make them of interest.

In 1923 the Press published *Tolstoi's Love Letters*. Desmond McCarthy reviewed the book in the *New Statesman*, and "the Woolfs quoted him [...] in their subsequent advertisements" (Luftig 5). Further, titling this book *Tolstoi's Love Letters* was "a shrewd marketing decision" since there were only fourteen love letters and they "comprised little more than one-third of a 134-page book" (Luftig 5). Most of the pages were a foreword and closing by Paul Biryukov. "Study of the Autobiographical Elements in Tolstoi's Work," is a much less enticing title. As Luftig notes, the "Press's ad, which ran several times in *The New Statesman*, read **TOLSTOI'S LOVE LETTERS** in large bold type and 'with an essay by Paul Biryukov' in smaller lighter type beneath. McCarthy never mentioned Biryukov's piece, but instead quoted and marvelled at the letters" (5). Who the Press published determined its type, what sort of distinction it could confer, and what a Hogarth Press text could signify and the Press managed its characterization.

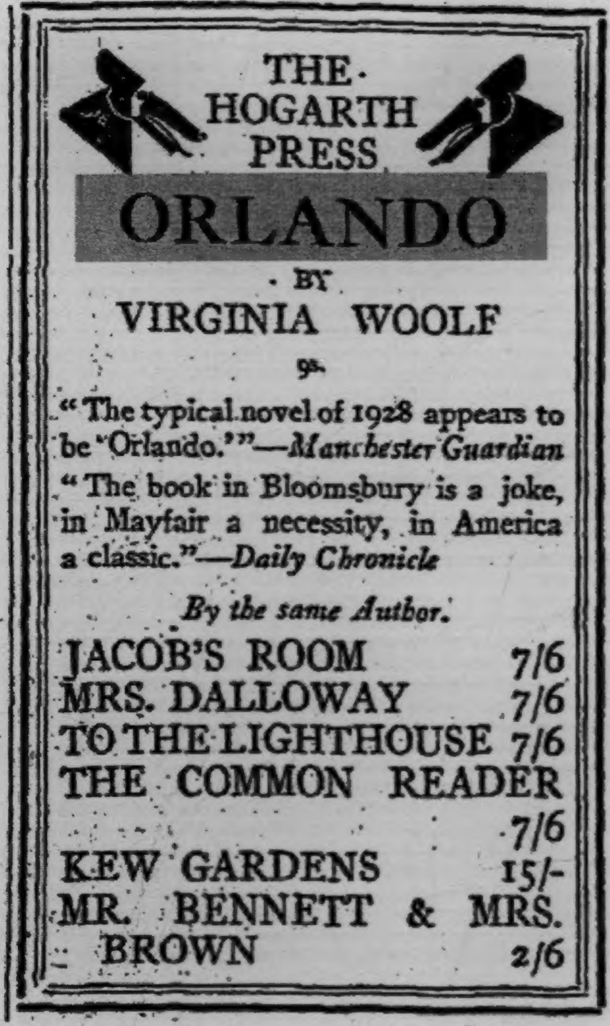
The Press first issued traditional "seasonal announcements [...] in 1923, and catalogues with complete listings in 1927" (Willis 379). The start of the seasonal announcements coincides with the end of the subscription method of distribution. An early announcement from 1923, which repeats some of the aims mentioned in the 1922 anniversary announcement, ends with "yours very truly, Leonard and Virginia Woolf" (Q.3.a). At times the catalogues contain descriptions of Woolf's novels, advertising blurbs or positive reviews. Rosenbaum asks, "who wrote the copy for the Hogarth Press's catalogue announcements of the Woolfs' books? Again these descriptions can be considered authorial—or quasi-authorial, perhaps, if Leonard wrote them with Virginia's approval" (159). The catalogues too show a blending of the personal and the commercial.

Jacket blurbs were another way of advertising. They are an interesting aspect of the paratext. A number of Woolf's novels have blurbs on their jackets. Rosenbaum proposes that, "[g]iven the small organisation of the Hogarth Press, it is reasonable to assume that these blurbs were written by the author" (159). Kennedy notes that Virginia Woolf wrote other blurbs for Press books. She, for example, wrote the jacket blurb for Sylva Norman's *Nature Has No Tune*, published by the Press in 1929. Kennedy recalls that writing a blurb "looks so easy when she does it—she just jotted it down on a piece of typing paper: 'Miss Norman's novel is a delightful mixture of fact and fantasy' etc." after he "had spent hours trying to make something out of what was on the leaflet" (47). Rosenbaum wonders, "How many unknown blurbs by Virginia Woolf are there in Hogarth's publication?" (159). More research needs to be done into this aspect of Woolf's role at the Press.

Leaflets and circulars were common Press advertising material. Kennedy writes, "LW seems to sell a lot of his books by sending out leaflets advertising them.

We are never to send out a parcel of books without putting in a range of leaflets" (16). It seems that Leonard Woolf designed at least some of the ads himself. Kennedy recalls him designing an *Observer* advertisement in 1928, which made use of the new Kauffer Press device (28). The use of leaflets and flyers continued over time. One 1932 example was a flyer, "Originally inserted in *The Common Reader Second Series* to promote other Woolf titles" (Beekman 50). The buyer, or reader, of a Woolf book was a good target for other Woolf books.

Marketing techniques also included the use of the Press logo, signifying the reputation of the Press and a seal of approval. Virginia Woolf seems to have been aware of the value of such recognition early on. Laura Marcus notes, "[i]n 1918 Woolf had suggested to Bell that she produce a cover design for *Kew Gardens* that need not have 'reference' to the story and that could be used, with a change of title, for subsequent publications: it would be, Woolf wrote, 'a tremendous draw'" (141). Though this plan was never fulfilled, Bell did design the wolf's-head logo, which first appeared on title pages in 1925. The logo, as previously discussed in Chapter One, worked as a sign for the press as a whole. Further, through Bell's many distinctive covers she established a certain look for Woolf's work in Britain that had some of the similar properties of recognizability, and brand recognition is one of the aims of advertising. In 1928 the Hogarth Press had a new logo made, designed by the E. McKnight Kauffer famous for designing advertising posters for the London Underground. Kauffer had been a member of the Omega Workshop. The "unmistakably bold and modern" wolf's head was first used in "a half-page ad for the pre-Christmas sale in the December 8, 1928 issue of the *Nation and Athenaeum*"



THE
HOGARTH
PRESS

ORLANDO

BY
VIRGINIA WOOLF
9s.

"The typical novel of 1928 appears to be 'Orlando.'"—*Manchester Guardian*

"The book in Bloomsbury is a joke, in Mayfair a necessity, in America a classic."—*Daily Chronicle*

By the same Author.

JACOB'S ROOM	7/6
MRS. DALLOWAY	7/6
TO THE LIGHTHOUSE	7/6
THE COMMON READER	7/6
KEW GARDENS	15/-
MR. BENNETT & MRS. BROWN	2/6

Advertisement in *The Times* from December 11, 1928

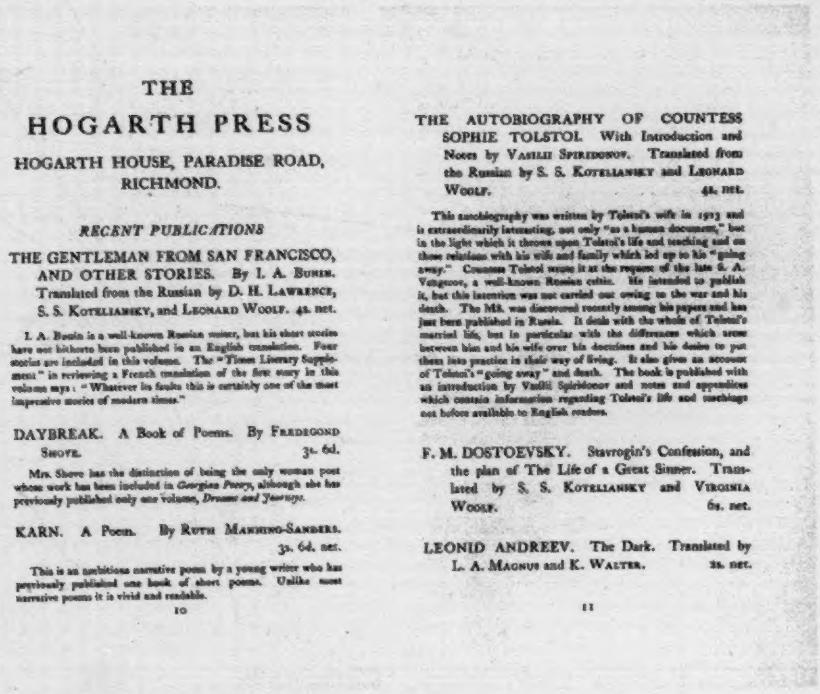
(Willis 376). After 1928 "all Hogarth ads carried McKnight Kauffer's single or double wolf's-head device, becoming as instantly recognizable and distinctive as the best publishing house ads. Woolf had learned the value of advertising the producer as well as the product" (Willis 377). But Leonard and Virginia seem to have known this much earlier, demonstrated by the prominence of the name of the Press from early on. The Hogarth Press brand, in part defined by the list of authors, as well as physical books and publishing practices, changed over time. Mepham notes, "Through the early twenties the Press began to take on more orthodox commercial methods and was soon established as a serious publishing house, making an important contribution to the innovative cultural trends of the time" (56). By 1931 there existed the cultural capital necessary to make *The Waves* a book that could confer status on those who had it on their drawing-room tables.

Who the Press published was also, of course, significantly, firstly, Virginia Woolf. Willis proposes that when publishing one of her works it "was as if the powerful field force of a Woolf novel repelled all lesser fictional charges. The press offerings in the genre, seldom strong, seem particularly weak in any year in which one of Virginia's novels appeared" (128). There is certainly evidence to support the claim that Woolf's novels received pride of place, and in some cases exceptional treatment. In the 1927 catalogue there is a section titled "Novels and Stories by Virginia Woolf." Along with the titles of her works the section contains multiple laudatory review quotations such as this from the *Spectator*: "The genius of Virginia Woolf is at once more difficult and more original than that of any other woman novelist of to-day" (Q.3.a). In the Autumn 1929 catalogue the first listing is the

"Fiction" category and it begins with "Uniform Edition of the Works of Virginia Woolf."

When *Jacob's Room* was published in October 1922, advertisements were taken out in November in *The Times Literary Supplement*, *New Statesman*, *Nation*, *Gazette*, and *London Mercury*. The ads typically cost under £2. Another round of advertisements went out in December. The back of the first edition contained fourteen pages full of extra material. There are extensive quotations from a variety of publications establishing the critical acclaim of the author, though not all are positive reviews. In addition to praise for Woolf's previous publications are four pages of advertisements for other Hogarth Press books. There is a page dedicated to Gorky's important 1920 book.

To the Lighthouse was the first work listed in the Spring 1927 Announcement and beside it runs the comment, "This is a new novel by Mrs Woolf, whose Mrs Dalloway was one of the most widely discussed novels of 1925" (Q.3.a). A previous novel's buzz is the reason for purchasing the next. The novel was published in May, and a June 3rd advertisement in *The Times* is headed with the phrase "In its Third Thousand." What follows in the text of the advertisement is a collection of quotations from reviewers, the first of which reads, "The genius of Virginia Woolf is at once more difficult and more original than that of any other woman novelist of to-day" (*To the Lighthouse*). An ad from 1928 in *The Times* begins with, "Awarded the 'Femina' Prize as the Best English Novel of the Year" (*To the Lighthouse* 1928). The advertisements mention the number of copies sold, but emphasize the artistic merits and critical acclaim.



THE
HOGARTH PRESS
HOGARTH HOUSE, PARADISE ROAD,
RICHMOND.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

THE GENTLEMAN FROM SAN FRANCISCO, AND OTHER STORIES. By I. A. Bunin. Translated from the Russian by D. H. Lawrence, S. S. Koteliansky, and Leonard Woolf. 4s. net.

I. A. Bunin is a well-known Russian writer, but his short stories have not hitherto been published in an English translation. Four stories are included in this volume. The "Times Literary Supplement" in reviewing a French translation of the first story in this volume says: "Whatever its faults this is certainly one of the most impressive stories of modern times."

DAYBREAK. A Book of Poems. By Fredegond Shove. 3s. 6d.

Mrs. Shove has the distinction of being the only woman poet whose work has been included in *Georgian Poetry*, although she has previously published only one volume, *Dreams and Journeys*.

KARN. A Poem. By Ruth Manning-Sanders. 3s. 6d. net.

This is an ambitious narrative poem by a young writer who has previously published one book of short poems. Unlike most narrative poems it is vivid and readable.

10

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF COUNTESS SOPHIE TOLSTOI. With Introduction and Notes by Vasilii Spiridonov. Translated from the Russian by S. S. Koteliansky and Leonard Woolf. 4s. net.

This autobiography was written by Tolstoi's wife in 1913 and is extraordinarily interesting, not only "as a human document," but in the light which it throws upon Tolstoi's life and teaching and on those relations with his wife and family which led up to his "going away." Countess Tolstoi wrote it at the request of the late S. A. Vengerov, a well-known Russian critic. He intended to publish it, but this intention was not carried out owing to the war and his death. The MS. was discovered recently among his papers and has just been published in Russia. It deals with the whole of Tolstoi's married life, but in particular with the differences which arose between him and his wife over his doctrines and his desire to put them into practice in their way of living. It also gives an account of Tolstoi's "going away" and death. The book is published with an introduction by Vasilii Spiridonov and notes and appendices which contain information regarding Tolstoi's life and teachings not before available to English readers.

F. M. DOSTOEVSKY. Stavrogin's Confession, and the plan of The Life of a Great Sinner. Translated by S. S. Koteliansky and Virginia Woolf. 6s. net.

LEONID ANDREEV. The Dark. Translated by L. A. Magnus and K. Walter. 2s. net.

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Advertising pages from the back of *Jacob's Room*

In contrast to some of Woolf's texts and their publicity sits *Flush*. In terms of publicity, *Flush* got the usual treatment and then the unusual treatment. As was the usual practice with Woolf's books in the Hogarth Press catalogue, *Flush* was announced as an upcoming publication in the Spring of 1933 and it was the first listing. In the Autumn 1933 catalogue the whole first page is dedicated to *Flush* and both editions are listed. Another common strategy was the use of publicity leaflets. Records indicate they made 7,500 copies. However, *Flush*, perhaps because it was not "serious" or as important as other Woolf texts, was open to sales and advertising strategies that other texts were not. In addition to running ads at the Metropole Victoria Cinema, there was advertising through book clubs. The Book Society circulated its choice ahead of time, and they asked that in exchange, the Hogarth

Press would take a page of advertisement for the Autumn list in *Book Society News* (Reading 556).

The Press also took out a quarter page ad in the theatre programme of the Picadilly Theatre for weeks during the run of *The Barretts of Wimpole Street*, the controversial play about Elizabeth Barrett Browning's life that the Woolfs had seen. They also sent twenty-five copies of each of the two editions of the book to the theatre for sale (Reading 556). These strategies are a seemingly uncharacteristic attempt to harness popular media and run counter to a disinterested artistic vision. Such practices contrast with Leonard Woolf's pronouncement that "books are, in general, not a commodity which, like patent medicines, cigarettes, or mustard, the consumer buys or can be induced to buy by the skill of the advertiser alone" ("On Advertising" 849).

The Years dominates the catalogues in 1936. In the Spring 1936 catalogue the first category is fiction and the first listing is Woolf's upcoming *The Years*. Following the announcement is a description of the novel including its theme and scope. The final lines of the description, "Here we see the passing of the years in the story of separate individuals; in the end, an attempt is made to present a view of it as a whole" (Q.3.a) set up readerly expectation and interpretation. It is an interesting example of temporal paratext. The Autumn 1936 catalogue repeats the Spring blurb, again on the first page. In the Spring of 1937 a new blurb appears. The advertising of this novel differs in some ways from other Woolf novels because it was a best-seller. Thus the advertising influenced sales, but the success also influenced the advertising. The production files indicate that £250 were spent on advertising, a larger expenditure than either the machining of the first 13,380 copies of the novel or the binding of 7,500 copies (Reading 577). In February of 1937 a leaflet for the book was printed. Five thousand copies of a single 3¼ x 5" cream-coloured sheet were printed on both sides with blue ink. The leaflet contains a blurb quite similar to the one from the 1936 catalogues that once again serves as interpretation:

> The theme is presented in the concrete details of their daily life and the impact upon individuals of all the forces that mould society, from fear and love, to war and politics. The pattern of the book is also drawn in certain repeated phrases and verbal echoes which seem to reveal to the reader the strange psychological and social forces which drive each individual inexorably along his own separate path. (Reading 577)

The leaflet also mentions where one might purchase the book, in this case, Tuslove & Hanson.

The Book Society writes to the Press that, "*The Years* will have a prominent place on our April list on the assumption that you still intend to publish it on March 15th" (Reading 577). A letter in the publicity file reveals the breadth of interest in the novel, even in 1935. A bookseller in Norway writes asking for a review copy and is sure he "can place the book in one of [their] best newspapers" (Reading 577). Another letter reads, "Madame Woolf's great book will of course be reviewed in Les Nouvelles Litteraire by Edmond Sartaux. But in view of the importance of the work, the editor wishes me to supplement this with an article on Madame Woolf's personality" (Reading 577). The book received more space, and attention is paid not just to the book but to the author as well. *The Years* was discussed on BBC Book Talk in which it was criticized for being anti-religious and unfair and was again discussed on the BBC later in April (Reading 577).

Reinforcing what the materiality of the Uniform Edition already signifies is the advertising rhetoric surrounding the series. In the Autumn 1929 catalogue, the Press includes a few words of explanation for their introduction of the Uniform Edition of Woolf's works. The catalogue reads, "The Hogarth Press begins this autumn the publication of a cheap uniform edition, of small and convenient size, of the works of Virginia Woolf" (Q.3.a). When, in 1940, the Uniform Edition of *The Years* became available, the catalogue reads, "The original edition of *The Years*, Mrs Woolf's most recent and most popular novel, was published in 1937. All those who collect the attractive uniform edition will want to add this latest volume to their set" (Q.3.a). Uniform Editions are desirable as collectibles, as aesthetically pleasing objects, and as a set. There are reasons for buying these books beyond what is written on the pages.

Virginia Woolf as Celebrity

Another significant change in twentieth century book advertising was the increasing focus on the figure of the author: authors became celebrities. Though, "By the nineteenth century, authors, along with other famous people, had become a staple of advertising in general" (Silver 89), there were new developments in the twentieth century. The relatively new literary agents "increasingly began to sell the authors first and their books second" (Demoor 5). Celebrity status changes the relations between the author and marketplace. One striking example of author celebrity, though in an

American context, was Woolf's appearance on the cover of *Time* magazine on "April 12, 1937, shortly before *The Years* made its way to the bestseller list in the United States" (Silver 79). This adds to the sense of the status Woolf had reached by this point in her career.

Woolf, as we have seen, was closely associated with her texts through the name, device, covers, and the personal production methods of the Press. Her input parallels, in some ways, James Joyce and the production of *Ulysses* when "The book was no longer an industrial product, a mere commodity shaped by the conventions of the publishing industry and produced by the machinery of the large publishing house. Every facet of its production was now associated with the author" (Rainey 64). Woolf's involvement was more diffuse, but her involvement made Hogarth Press books more personal.

Leonard recognized that advertising an author who sold made good business sense ("On Advertising"). Genette, in discussing the function of the name of the author, mentions that "when someone who is already famous produces a book [it] will perhaps be successful precisely because of his previously established fame. The name then is no longer a straightforward statement of identity; [...] it is, instead, the way to put an identity, or rather a 'personality,' as the media call it, at the service of the book" (40). On the topics of popularity and the artist's relation to the marketplace, Woolf's views are complex and difficult to pin down. The fluidity is productive in the ways it allows for transgressing boundaries, while also paying sophisticated attention to materiality and the use of rhetoric. Leonard was involved as well. Williams notes, "Advertising was developed to sell goods, in a particular kind of economy. Publicity has been developed to sell persons, in a particular kind of culture" and the "methods are often basically similar" (*Problems* 183). The Hogarth Press and Virginia Woolf work together to sell both.

Leonard Woolf as Press Historian

Leonard Woolf remembers the first publication, the advertisement, differently from the text quoted previously. Leonard writes, "We printed a circular offering Publication No. 1 for 1s.6d. net and explaining that we in The Hogarth Press proposed to print and publish in the same way from time to time paper-covered pamphlets or small books, printed entirely by our two selves, which would have little or no chance of being published by ordinary publishers" (*Beginning* 237). In hindsight he expands the message of the first publication to include information and intentions that it did not originally contain. Despite the physical evidence to the contrary, critics still tend to follow the official version of the Press's purpose. Mepham notes that Woolf, with the publication of *Monday or Tuesday* "began to establish herself with a small audience for avant-garde work as a serious figure on the literary scene. With writing like this, she must have thought, she was giving up any chance of commercial success. Yet she was beginning to see the possibility of writing in her own voice" (55). Mepham maintains the assumption of Virginia Woolf's writing as non-commercial, disinterested, created with adherence to an internal vision and not external consideration.

"How did the Hogarth Press succeed without the normal structure of a publishing business? The answer lies in the paradox that the Woolfs were successful because they were not interested in the success of their Press" (Rosenbaum 154). By this, Rosenbaum is indicating that the Woolfs did not publish based on what might make money, the press was a part-time activity, and it remained small. While all of this is true on one level, the Press was successful because of the lack of interest in another sense. I define my terms somewhat differently than Rosenbaum. The Woolfs seemed to recognize the interests of disinterestedness and therefore, could not be truly disinterested. Further, the comments seem to apply more to the earlier years of the Press, as they so often do. Rosenbaum asserts, "For years the Woolfs refused to publish anything they did not think worth publishing for its own sake, even though it might make money. The Press was never to be a way of livelihood for either Virginia or Leonard" (154). What Rosenbaum says and what Leonard claims fit well with Bourdieu's description of the production of cultural capital and the long view of success. The Press was, however, in later years a major source of income and has to be considered as such. After 1928 there was a "revolutionary increase" in the Woolfs' income and it was "due first to the sudden success of Virginia's books and secondarily to the Hogarth Press" (*Downhill* 143). The two are not unconnected, and Woolf's books increased Press profits as well as bringing in author royalties. From "1929 to 1939 the Press contributed on average £1,100 to [their] income" (*Downhill* 169).

Leonard Woolf and Pierre Bourdieu

Leonard reveals an impressive understanding of the workings of art and economics. At times he sounds strikingly like Pierre Bourdieu. He writes of his wife's career that,

> By the age of 42 Virginia had already published three major novels: *The Voyage Out*, *Night and Day*, and *Jacob's Room*. All three had been widely recognized as novels of great merit, and even genius; they had been published in America as well as in Britain; but their sales were small in both countries. Thus the total which she earned from her books, including the American editions, in the six years [...] was £228, or £38 per annum. (*Downhill* 63)

The small sales helped solidify her classifications as "serious" and of high reputation. Further, in 1928 Virginia Woolf "had in the narrow circle of people who value great works of literature a high reputation as one of the most original contemporary novelists. Thus her books were always reviewed with the greatest seriousness in all papers which treat contemporary literature seriously" (*Downhill* 146). He goes on to explain, "But no one would have called her a popular or even successful novelist, and she could not possibly have lived upon the earnings from her books" (146). Through these early years Virginia Woolf paid her dues and amassed symbolic capital.

Over time, the small sales turned into major sales. Leonard calculates, five years after 1924, "the year in which Virginia earned £38 by her books, she earned £2,063 by her books. This astronomical increase after the six years of complete stagnation was due partly to *Mrs Dalloway*, published in 1925, and *To the Lighthouse*, published in 1927, but still more to *Orlando*, which was published in 1928" (*Downhill* 64). The misrecognized capital functions as a credit, which, in the long run creates economic profits. Woolf stayed in what Bourdieu terms a "risky position" long enough to allow for successful sales later on. Importantly, "The development of the Hogarth Press was bound up with the development of Virginia as a writer and with her literary or creative psychology" (*Downhill* 64). It too had amassed symbolic capital.

Advertising rhetoric and practices are complicated and contradictory. Perhaps it is better to say that the apparent contradictions are actually supplementary. There was an astute awareness of the discourses involved and what was at stake. Both Leonard and Virginia could use multiple discourses and types of appeal. The Press, like much of Virginia Woolf's writing, refused to be fixed or pinned, using productive negotiations. A book can say one thing and do another. Negotiations and contradiction occurred as the Press was a publicizing mechanism but privately owned; work was both professional and amateur, commercial and disinterested. These and other conflated binaries allowed for flexibility of rhetorical constructions and positioning within the field of cultural production. My purpose is not to diminish in any way the work of the Press or the value of what it created, but to show how the Press rhetorically and materially positioned itself in terms of contemporary and historical discourses in order to negotiate a delicate and uneasy balance between art and commerce. At times the material objects and practices contradict the official rhetoric, foregrounding the importance of the archive and material study, but even the official rhetoric of the Press is not stable. An oscillating position is flexible, multiple, at times contradictory, and certainly productive.

Chapter Five

Product Placement: How and Where One Could Buy, Borrow, or Rent a Hogarth Press Imprint

How Hogarth Press texts were offered for sale, as well as how and where they were distributed, determine, in part, the Hogarth Press brand. The early distribution practices in particular characterized Hogarth Press books as exclusive, desirable, innovative, and yet affordable. The Hogarth Press reanimated practices from the past, making them new and suiting them to the modernist moment, a move in some ways similar to methods of distribution used by other modernist writers such as Joyce and Eliot, and also akin to the small magazines of the period. Books at this stage move out from the Press and into various other hands and locations. Here it is important to think of the Press as a hub of distribution, connecting with subscribers, bagmen, and booksellers. Various middlemen, or middlewomen, are of importance at this stage, as are the readers and buyers of the books.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to consider where and how people had access to Hogarth Press publications, and more importantly, how access affected the valuation and understanding of the books. Beyond Press distribution practices it is important to consider whom the readers and/or buyers of Hogarth Press books were to examine the effects of Press practices and positioning on contemporary individuals. Gauging contemporary reactions is also useful for considering whether the recipients were those the Press intended or not. Readers, booksellers and reception is clearly a large and complex topic, but this chapter can contribute an overview of the overlapping and interlaced connections of institutions and people that handled, sold and bought Hogarth Press books; these, in turn, influenced the meaning of the imprint.

The ways the Press distributed its publications varied considerably over time. The primary shift in the relation between the parties is from direct contact between buyers and the Press—distribution by subscription—to a more conventional distribution that involved booksellers. The two stages are not as distinct as they might first appear however, nor does the early characterization disappear, even after the shift is generally complete. Though the practices changed over time, early practices and the resulting understanding overdetermine what follows. The Press was both savvy and practical in how it distributed and sold its books. By including the personal touch, being for sale in the "right" bookstores and not indiscriminately available, tempering exclusivity with democratic elements, distribution methods mirror other elements of the Press's production and advertising. In the latter stage, travellers were sent out from the Press and this chapter will consider both the roles of the travellers and the nature of the bookstores and booksellers that sold Hogarth Press books. Geography also becomes a factor, not only in the distinction between a London and a provincial bookseller, and in the distance between bookseller and publisher, but also in the location of publishing premises within the city. Different areas of London were known to be the centres of publishing at different points in time. An institution at the centre means something different from one at the margin; geographically the Hogarth Press moved inwards.[50] The shift towards the centre was both literal and metaphoric, but contradictions were maintained and the marginal self-characterization did not disappear.

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[50] The major move was from Hogarth House in the suburb of Richmond to Tavistock Square in Bloomsbury, in 1924, the year after subscription ended. Bloomsbury became a fashionable centre for publishing houses.

Book History

As Adams and Barker note, “with distribution, the history of the book begins its dynamic phase” (22), and the circle of locations and involved parties widens. Darnton mentions shippers and booksellers as the people, or roles, involved in distribution. Included in the shipping stage is “the way books reached bookstores from printing shops” (128) and then we reach the bookseller, “ a cultural agent” and “middleman who mediated between supply and demand at their key point of contact” (130). In the early years, the Hogarth Press had few middlemen and acted as the primary shippers as well as sellers. However, the network of contacts expanded over the years, including more individuals and more layers of mediation between the publisher and the reader in addition to more readers. Beyond the use of booksellers, however, it is also important to consider the nature and characterization, including the location, of bookstores and their premises. A considerable time ago, Darnton called “the role of the bookseller,” the “least familiar link in the diffusion process” (113) and stated, “more work needs to be done on the bookseller” (130). This largely holds true for today.

Early Distribution Practices

Though the Press began its distribution practices with subscription, there is more interconnection with commercial markets and agents of distribution than may appear at first glance. As the advertising was careful to continue the balancing-act between commerce and art, so too did the distribution practices. The Press used elitist, aesthetic, and historical elements to situate the practices and emphasize desirable elements. Subscription was "widely used in the sales campaigns of British publishers from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries" (Darnton 127). Rainey, in examining the institutions of modernist artistic production, discusses how Pound, Joyce and Eliot created a hybrid economic model: "to reconstruct an aristocracy, but to do it within the world of the commodity—to accept, in other words, the status of art as a commodity, but simultaneously to transform it into a special kind of commodity, a rarity capable of sustaining investment value" (39). This negotiation was done through limited editions, as discussed in Chapter Three, and little reviews supported by patron-investors. Many important works appeared first in little reviews and then in a limited edition, including *Ulysses*. Like the little magazines the *Egoist* or the *Little Review*, which "survived by a direct rapport with a restricted group of readers" (Rainey 92), the Hogarth Press had a rapport with a limited group of subscribers. The magazines "rejected the strategy of mass circulation" and instead "returned to the kind of direct relationship with readers that had typified literary magazines in the genteel tradition" (Rainey 92). The magazines, as with Press imprints, were not widely available, though one could purchase the magazines in certain retail outlets like the Sunwise Turn in New York or Harold Monro's shop in London. The little magazines also received support from patrons (for example Harriet Weaver supported the *Egoist* and John Quinn helped support *The Little Review*) in the form of direct investment. These magazines were for sale at only a few retail outlets and sold mostly to subscribers. A magazine subscription, however, resulted in fewer surprises in terms of products than a subscription to the Hogarth Press, which could result in a variety of genres and lengths of texts as well as authors.

The Hogarth Press, especially in the early years, made some analogous types of negotiation between aristocratic and capitalist investment. From 1919 to 1923 the Press used subscription to sell its works.[51] In Rainey's examples, the investment was in "art as commodity," but "a special kind of commodity," where consumption of art is deferred, "postpone[d] and sublimate[d] [...] by turning it into an object of investment whose value will be realized only in the future" (39). In the case of Hogarth Press subscription, investment was made more directly into the institution of the Press, rather than just in the works it produced. There was value in the books themselves, which, as previously discussed, share some similar characteristics with fine print books, but there was also value in being associated with the production of them. The Press did not, however, receive money as investment in the business, a move that might have impeded the Woolfs' autonomy. The Press was sustained by its own capital and yet one became a patron of literary production when subscribing to the Hogarth Press.

There were two types or categories of subscribers: A or B. Type A subscribers paid a deposit and then received every publication that the Press produced. Type B subscribers were given notification of productions but chose which titles they wished to purchase. Subscription functions like a patron or patrons in some important ways, including providing financial stability for the Press, and prestige for the patrons. The prestige and status created by having objects of limited circulation and having them before other people in turn create desire for the texts among patrons and beyond. An A subscriber supported the Press as an institution presumably because of the art that it would produce, or because of a friendship with the Woolfs. Subscription changes the dynamic of exchange between publisher and consumer; it is a more direct method of exchange, without the middlemen of booksellers, and increases contact between producer and consumer. Category A subscribers' involvement was not based on a text by text case, or the individual authors of works. They bought a book because it was a Hogarth Press book. This relationship shifts the focus from the sale of objects to a more general support of an institution or project of supporting art, which increases the stability of income for the Press. In this desire for income stability there are interesting connections to the Bel Esprit project Pound proposed for Eliot. In that plan, "thirty individuals each guarantee ten pounds [...] per year to Eliot, providing him with an income of three hundred pounds" based not on "retrospective consumption" but in "prospective patronage" (Rainey 65).[52] Subscribing to the Hogarth Press was investing in the Woolfs, not solely, or even primarily as authors to support their own original literary productions directly, but as publishers, to help facilitate getting authors into print. The subscribers were not shareholders and had no direct share in profits, but they did receive the investment of the books, and many of those increased in both symbolic and economic value over time. Further, the subscribers had the status of being on the list from the start and looking smart in hindsight. Early A subscribers include Clive Bell, Lady Ottoline Morrell, Hugh Walpole, Wallace Stevens, H.G. Wells, Rebecca West, Mrs. Harold Nicolson (Vita Sackville-West), Edward Garnett, and James Bain the bookseller. The list of B subscribers includes Roger Fry, J. M. Keynes, Lady Cecil, G.L. Dickinson, E.M. Forster, and Princess Bibesco. Subscribing to the Press would put you into a group that included these members, a temptation for some in and of itself.

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[51] For the sales of *Two Stories* and *Prelude*, the two works published before 1919, buyers were labeled "subscribers" in the account book (I.Q.1.a), but the orders were for a single title, mostly based on circulars sent by the Press. It was the organized plan for subscription in two categories, and a record of subscribers, that began in 1919. In *Beginning Again*, Leonard mentions an invitation for people to become subscribers included in the circular offering Publication No. 1 (236). The circular, however, does not include this appeal, and the account book and letters both indicate a later development of the subscription plan.

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[52] Virginia Woolf signed her name to the Eliot Fellowship Fund, a manifesto that was published in October 1922. The proposal was to "establish a fellowship to allow T.S. Eliot to 'give up his post at the Bank and to devote his whole time to literary work'" (Kirkpatrick 409). Eliot declined.

The Press and those supporting it form an elite, a group which requires an invitation to join and is fairly exclusive. By invitation I refer to the circularization of prospective subscribers—the Woolfs mailing invitations to become involved with the Press—but also the more general and practical problem of otherwise not knowing about the Press or where it was located or whom to contact. Subscribers were addressed, initiated into a group, and they joined based on the reputation of the Press and/or the relation to the people who ran it. This is similar, in significant ways, to manuscript and coterie exchange where "an aura of 'privileged insidedness' [is created] around the text and its readers" and which allows "the right outsiders [to] become insiders" (Summit 188). The early circulation was largely among friends and acquaintances. As early as September 1916, Virginia Woolf wrote to Roger Fry stating, "I meant to ask whether you have a list of possible buyers at the Omega which you would lend us when it comes to sending post cards about the press" (*Letters* 2:115). In May of 1917 Woolf wrote to Lady Ottoline Morrell saying, "I've just sent you a halfpenny envelope containing a notice of our first publication. We find we have only 50 friends in the world—and most of them stingy. Could you think of any generous people—they need not be very generous—whose names you would send me?" (*Letters* 2:154). Again in November of 1918 Woolf wrote to Vanessa Bell asking about potential subscribers: "Possibly you know some names of artists whom I might send notices to; we think of getting 2 or 3 little books ready before we send out, so as to give people something at once" (*Letters* 2: 297). Often the same people were buyers, reviewers, designers and authors, forming a community. The charge of insularity has often been leveled against Bloomsbury in general and, at times, against the Hogarth Press in particular.

The exclusivity, however, confers prestige on those who are included. Further, limiting participation through subscription can even be read as euphemistic advertising, creating desire for a product without that appearing to be the intention. In 1920, George Bernard Shaw wrote to Leonard and asked, "Does the Hogarth Press publish any catalogues or season's lists? They seem to print some nice books; but I hear of them only by accident" (qtd. in Willis 65). People could not automatically get Hogarth Publications at any bookstore; it mattered whom one knew, and if one did not travel in circles of people who talked about the Press, one might not know of it or its products at all. Once Hogarth Press books were being reviewed in journals, the public could find out about imprints that way, but people would still need to write to the Press to request a copy.[53] If the circulation of books is restricted, books become

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[53] The sales of *Kew Gardens* after the review in the *TLS* show that orders from the general public were stimulated as the number of copies requested and sold exceeds the number of subscribers.

"objects of elevated value and desire, in the way that Bourdieu defines 'restricted circulation' as a marker of cultural value" (Summit 189).

Subscription did not mean that there was not contact and interaction with booksellers, however. One early A subscriber was the bookseller James Bain, so one "patron" was a bookseller who most likely resold his Hogarth Press books for a profit from his own store. As is often the case with the Hogarth Press, multiple practices overlap. Even though subscription lasted until 1923, books were being sold, and even travelled to booksellers much earlier. A substantial number of copies of the 1918 *Prelude*, out of the 300 printed, were sold to various book clubs and bookstores. Press account records indicate purchases by, among others, Gordon and Gotch, Truslove and Hanson, Hendersons of Charing Cross, Arthur Rogers bookseller, Chicago Co-op Book Stores, Society of Friends Bookshop, the Poetry Bookshop, W.H. Smith and Sons, the Times Book Club, the Chelsea Book Club, at least ten copies by James Bain, and over twenty-five copies by Simpkin Marshall (I.Q.1.a). In the Hogarth Press accounts, the entries for James Bain, the Chelsea Book Club and others were listed as "sale or return" (I.Q.1.a), the usual practice for commercial publishers rather than subscription sales which are final, in the sense that the purchaser is the final destination rather than a middleman. Seven copies of Eliot's *Poems* were sent to the Chelsea Book Club for sale or return as well as copies to James Bain, the Poetry Bookshop (4 copies), Hatchards (7 copies), and twenty-two copies to Simpkin Marshall (I.Q.1.a). Willis notes that the Woolfs "more systematically traveled the London bookshops a year later [1919], [and] began to establish commercial relations with the men who would sell their books" (392). A letter to Vanessa Bell in June of

1919 reveals of the flood of requests that appeared for *Kew Gardens*, "almost all the orders are from book shops, and we have to give them the trade discount, which means that we shall make very little profit on the second edition" (*Letters* 2: 365). Subscription sales and personal distribution somewhat counter those "commercial relations" and make categorization of the Press and its practices more complex. The Press maintained a middle ground, neither publishing books like the first edition of *Ulysses*—an expensive book with "the overwhelming majority of copies" bought by "the dealers and speculators in the rare book trade" (Rainey 44) as investments—nor ignoring booksellers completely. Selling direct to buyers a publisher would also avoid the 30 to 35% discount given to booksellers.[54]

Some books were printed, bound and mailed from the Woolfs' home, which before 1924 was in the London suburb of Richmond. Other books were printed by commercial printers off the premises but it seems that these books were then returned to the Woolfs' home from which they were mailed to their various destinations. Their personal residence was the hub of operations with no separate business location.

When *Jacob's Room* was published, in 1922, subscription was still in effect. Subscribers in the A category were rewarded. At this point in time there were forty type A subscribers and they received copies of the novel "with a printed slip signed by the author tipped in on the front endpaper" (Woolmer 17). This act of differentiation between buyers not only acknowledges those that have been "patrons"

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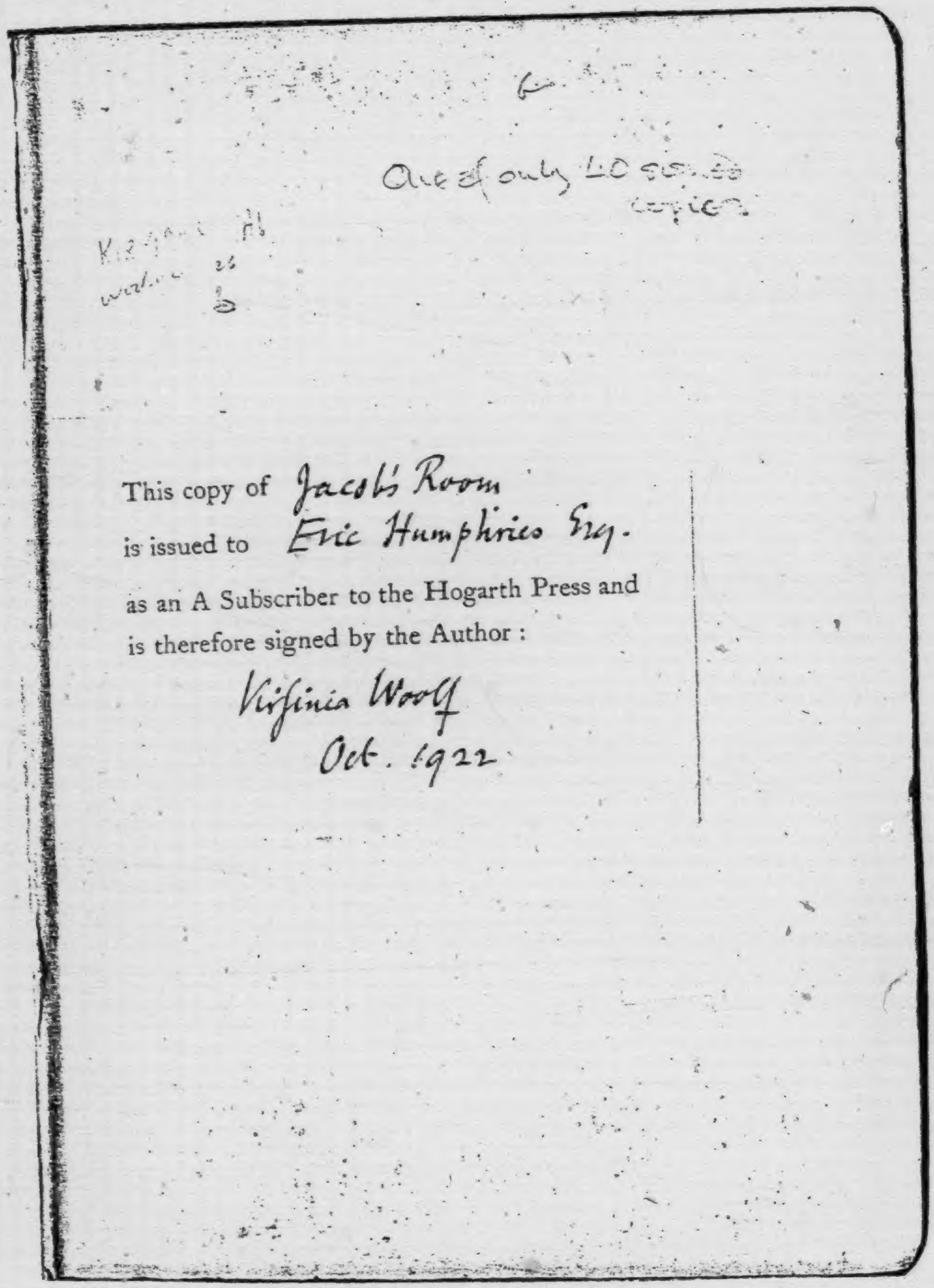
[54] Leonard recalls bookseller James Bain as an A subscriber, receiving a copy of *Two Stories*, but Bain is not listed among the 134 buyers in the account book, nor was the subscription scheme in effect during the sales of the first book. What is interesting is Leonard mentions that "except for him every copy of our first publications [sic] was sold to private persons at the full published price" (237), indicating that booksellers received the discount from the start—despite being a subscriber.



One of only 40 signed copies

[illegible]

This copy of Jacob's Room
is issued to Eric Humphries Esq.
as an A Subscriber to the Hogarth Press and
is therefore signed by the Author:

Virginia Woolf
Oct. 1922

Dedication of *Jacob's Room* to an A subscirber of the Press, but also shows the early awareness of the value of the signature of Virginia Woolf. By 1923 the Press had received "over 200 orders" for its first novel, *Jacob's Room*, orders totaling "1,182 copies" all of which were "packed and despatched [sic] by Virginia, Ralph, and [Leonard]" (*Downhill* 83). Leonard recorded each order in "a serial number book and in a ledger; the invoices were made out either by [Leonard] or by Ralph" (*Downhill* 83). The mundane tasks of packing and shipping were performed by the Woolfs themselves, along with their assistant, and distribution was their "spare-time occupation," usually "confined to the afternoon" (*Downhill* 83). Early Hogarth Press books were largely distributed through the mail. There are costs listed in the account books under "distribution" and this likely means primarily postage costs.

When the Woolfs decided to end subscription the transition was a fairly smooth one. Leonard writes, "By 1923 the Press had developed to such an extent that we had become more or less ordinary publishers, selling our books mainly to booksellers at the usual discount, and we therefore gave up the subscriber system altogether" (*Beginning* 237). This indicates that the majority of sales were already being done through bookstores and subscription had for some time been playing a relatively small role in the percentage of sales. When subscription ended, there were approximately "fifty-two A and forty-six B" (Willis 49) subscribers. The use of the practice in terms of personal and non-commercial appeal was important and remained so in the characterization of the Press. Press practices and rhetoric continued to emphasize the less standard and more private elements of the institution.

Post-Subscription Practices

The Hogarth Press, as both people and institution, remained quite actively involved in distribution, both in wrapping parcels, and mailing works in the 1920s and 1930s. The books were warehoused on the premises. In Tavistock Square, the Hogarth Press stock was kept primarily in the back basement room where Virginia Woolf wrote. Hogarth Press employees kept account of the stock and were able to order reprints as needed. This was one of the benefits of low overhead and a small-scale operation. Kennedy in his memoir about his experience at the Press in 1928 shows how distribution worked at that time: “there are bagmen who come round from the various booksellers to buy books for cash. Miss Belcher and I are supposed to take it in turn to serve them. This involves working out the discount they receive on the net price of the book; 25 per cent off for less than six copies and 33 per cent for orders over six” (16). With subscription, books were generally sold at the listed price without the substantial discounts, but the sales and distribution work rested with the Hogarth Press. Kennedy recalls that some of the “bagmen [were] very nice, like Mr Bumpus”, but “Gordon and Gotch Export and Simpkin Marshall were in a hurry and had no scruples about ragging [him] with a wink at Miss Belcher” (16). Frank Swinnerton explains that these bagmen were also called runners or collectors, and he recalls seeing them “trudging along the streets with great canvas sacks over their shoulders and those stout notebooks in their calloused hands [...]. They went from publisher to publisher, in all weathers” (65) attempting to collect the books requested from the booksellers. Often the books were not available, but when they were, the publisher’s assistant would “write in a carbon-sheeted invoice book and the collector would sign his name on the invoice" (Swinnerton 65) and eventually return, on foot, to the bookseller with a bag of books. After printing and binding, the circuit is from Press to bagmen, to bookseller to reader. London booksellers had the marked advantage of "nearness to the sources of supply, and in particular to the splendid service [...] of the great distributing wholesale houses" (Wilson 132). These wholesalers, such as Simpkin Marshall, would gather the works of various publishers and provide them to the booksellers.

The location of a publisher's premises in London is of importance for more reasons than proximity to wholesalers. At the end of the nineteenth century, publishing houses were mostly "east of Charing Cross" (Swinnerton 5) and at the turn of century moved west, "the streets around Covent Garden [becoming] the newest centre of publishing" (Swinnerton 8). In subsequent decades the move was northwards to Bloomsbury, an "ideal site for a trade properly radiating from such a symbol of learning and the printed book as the British Museum" (Swinnerton 8). Jonathan Cape moved to Bedford Square, as did Faber and Faber; Allen and Unwin moved to 40 Museum Street in 1914; Doubleday, Heinemann, and Hamish Hamilton all moved to Great Russell Street; the new Bodley Head moved to Little Russell Street, Harrap to High Holborn, Michael Joseph to Bloomsbury Street, and the Cresset Press to Fitzroy Square (Swinnerton 62), and this is not an exhaustive list. The location of the Hogarth Press in Tavistock Square was a fashionable one.

Though subscription ended in 1923, there were momentary returns to it, reminders of an earlier era, fittingly coupled with a limited edition book. In 1927 when the new edition of *Kew Gardens* was produced, extensively illustrated by

Vanessa Bell, only 500 copies of the 15s. book were produced. The edition was numbered, and copies were signed by author and illustrator. The exclusive edition was available directly from the Press, by order form,[55] once again establishing a direct connection between the Press and the reader/buyer. The *Kew Gardens* order form is also an echo of the first publication, the advertisement, and order form for *Two Stories*. An American dealer wrote to the Press in 1928, wondering about any limited editions and wanting to establish himself as the regular American distributor of Hogarth Press limited editions (Reading 560). The commercial marketability of this type of book was recognized at the time, both by dealers and by the Press. The value of the books was in its exclusivity and personal connection with author, illustrator, and Press.

Overseas distribution of Hogarth Press books also began surprisingly early and reached more widely than might be expected:

> On the evidence of William Plomer's letters from South Africa in 1924 and Edmund Blunden's from Tokyo in 1925, the press publications had reached bookstores in distant overseas locations by the mid-1920s. Sylvia Beach's Paris bookshop Shakespeare and Company seems to have stocked selected Hogarth Press books from at least 1925 on, and she may have sold copies earlier and circulated loan copies of press books. (Willis 392)

More work needs to be done to establish how these connections came about and to explore which books found their way to which locations. Also, "By 1929 the Woolfs had contracted with an agent in Canada (probably Longmans, Green & Co.) to distribute the press books, and by 1936 in the Reference Catalogue of Current Literature they were listing agents in Australia and New Zealand (Thomas Lothian) and in South Africa (Miss Radford of Modern Books)" (Willis 392).[56] As early as 1935, in anticipation of *The Years*, the Hogarth Press received a letter from the Norwegian bookseller Johan Grundt Tanum requesting a review copy of Woolf's new novel (Reading 546).

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[55] Further discussion of the 1927 edition of *Kew Gardens* and the order form can be found in Chapter Three.

Commonwealth distribution came later than American distribution. The "first contractual arrangement with an overseas publisher was with Harcourt Brace in 1921 for the American edition of Virginia Woolf's *Monday or Tuesday*" (Willis 393), but of course these books would not be Hogarth Press imprints. Once again Woolf is the cutting edge for the Press, her work moving the Press into new territory, literally. The export bookseller William Jackson did some smaller volume US sales. A letter in 1935 indicates that in the past a certain number of Hogarth Press books had been shipped to the US without infringing the copyright and he wishes to continue the practice with the forthcoming Woolf novel, *The Years* (Reading 577). Letters written to the Hogarth Press in the late 1940s also show that Hogarth Press books, and Virginia Woolf's novels in particular, were difficult to obtain in America. Letter writers often requested copies or asked where they could buy the books. In 1948, one woman wrote to Leonard Woolf to request books and claimed she could not find

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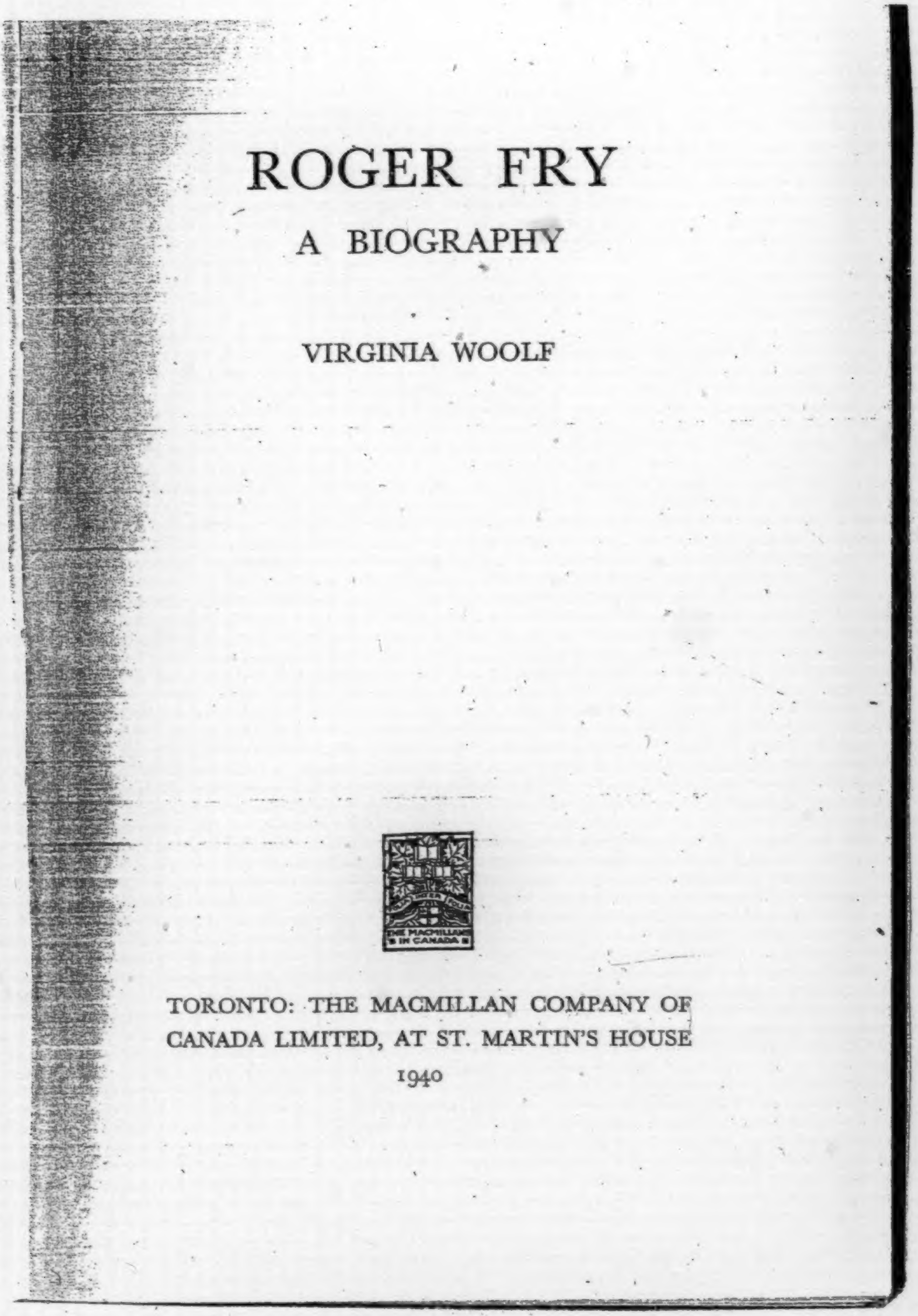
[56] For a discussion of the foreign rights to, and translations of, Press publications see Laura Marcus "The European Dimensions of the Hogarth Press." Here she explains that from the mid-1920s the Press employed "the literary agent Curtis Brown […] to negotiate foreign rights" (332), but these books would then appear under other imprints.

Woolf's novels anywhere. Further, when she inquired about the books at a bookseller's his reply was that he only wished he had some (Reading 546).

The situation of Canadian rights to, and distribution of, the novels of Virginia Woolf is complex. Early Canadian distribution was done through various outlets, primarily Longmans, Green, of Toronto, and Macmillan. Macmillan also distributed Harcourt Brace editions of Woolf's novels. Some copies of the *The Years*, for example, had "Colonial Edition" printed on to their jackets (Reading 577) and some of these were Hogarth Press imprints intended for Canada. Longmans, Green & Co. "distributed copies [of *The Years*] at $2.50" (Kirkpatrick 100) in 1937. Macmillan distributed copies of the Uniform Edition of *The Years* in 1941 at $1.65 (Kirkpatrick 101). For *Roger Fry*, R & R Clark include the cost of "altering title for 525 copies Canadian imprint" (Reading 569) in their invoice to the Hogarth Press. The sheets of this book were shipped to Macmillan and the book appeared under their imprint. The result was a hybrid production that included the same pages as the first British edition, but appeared with a different dust-jacket and under a different imprint. The Macmillan dust-jacket featured Roger Fry's self-portrait, while the Hogarth Press dust-jacket featured Vanessa Bell's portrait of Fry. There is also a royalty statement from Macmillan Co. of Canada for sales of that book (Reading 569). It seems, according to Hogarth Press records, Harcourt Brace had Canadian rights to *Jacob's Room*, *Mrs Dalloway*, *To the Lighthouse*, *The Common Reader* Volume 1, and *Orlando*, but the rest belonged to the Hogarth Press, with the exception of *The Voyage Out* and *Night and Day*. The first two novels printed belonged to Doubleday



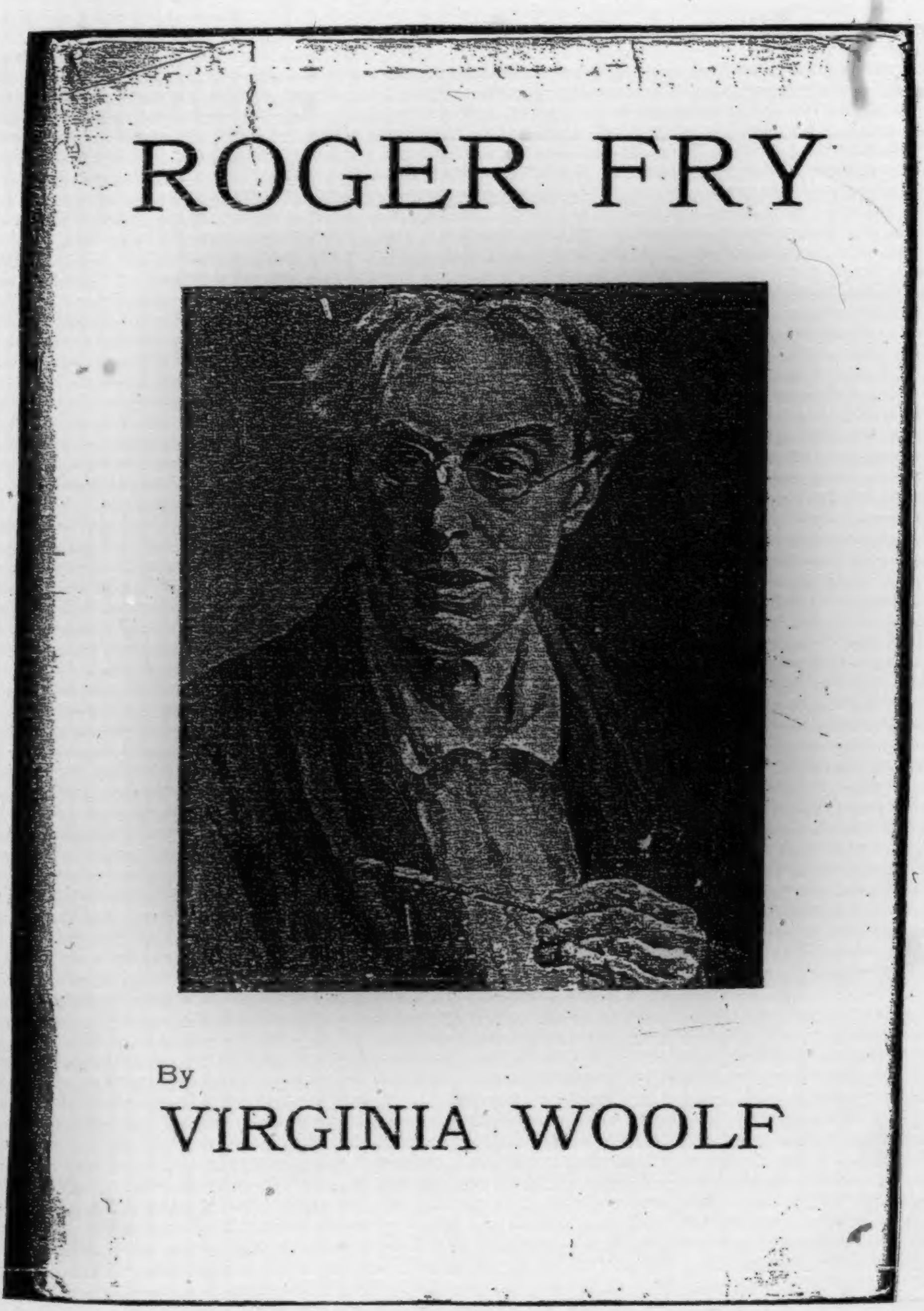
ROGER FRY

A BIOGRAPHY

VIRGINIA WOOLF

TORONTO: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF
CANADA LIMITED, AT ST. MARTIN'S HOUSE
1940

Title page of Macmillan's *Roger Fry: A Biography*



ROGER FRY

By
VIRGINIA WOOLF

Dust-jacket from Macmillan's *Roger Fry: A Biography*

(Reading 546). A Canadian reader could encounter Woolf's books as both Harcourt Brace and Hogarth Press imprints, as well as occasionally Macmillan's or Doubleday.

What has already been outlined may be termed official and intentional distribution. There are also unofficial channels of distribution that are important for understanding how books circulate, but much more difficult to trace. One example of unofficial distribution is mentioned in a letter written to Virginia Woolf in 1927 by a reader. Montague Bull writes to Woolf he "so enjoyed "The Lighthouse" [sic] [he] posted away six copies including one to [his] dear brother who lives on the far away Chatham Islands" (qtd. in Daugherty 43). This means that the novel continued to move after purchase from a bookseller, which is often the case, and that one could find a Hogarth Press book on a Pacific Island east of New Zealand soon after publication in England. Another interesting example relates to *A Room of One's Own* and *Three Guineas*. In 1938 R. A. Harman, the Senior Master of the Quaker run Sidcot School, wrote to Woolf in praise of her books. He informs her, "Ever since I read "A Room of One's Own" its been on my list of books that I hand to boys and girls when they leave this school, & now "Three Guineas" will join that list" (qtd. in Snaith 55). This means that for a number of years every graduate of the Somerset school received a written recommendation of one, or two, of Woolf's books. Harman was Senior Master, and presumably unofficial Hogarth Press advocate, until 1948.

Travellers

In the early years, what travelling was done was performed by Leonard and Virginia themselves and coincided with subscription. The solicitation of orders from booksellers was personal and on a rather small scale. The practice of travelling seems to have begun in 1918 with *Prelude*, as previously mentioned. In May of 1919 Woolf writes to her sister, "we've got to go a round of the bookshops next week carrying our wares. It sounds a little too American to be altogether to one's liking; but I suppose we must" (*Letters* 2: 358). Her comment reveals the reluctance to do the more overtly commercial salesmanship, personal though it was, but it "must" be done. Such a hands-on involvement with the people involved in the next stage of their books' lives distinguished them from other publishers, especially in cases where they were also the authors of the books they were promoting. The presence of the Woolfs impressed some of the booksellers. Leonard recounts that "In 1923 we had no travellers and in a very desultory way we took our books round to the more important booksellers ourselves in order to get subscription orders before publication. It was a depressing business, though no doubt salutary and educative for an embryonic publisher" (*Downhill* 76). The Press had one assistant before the end of subscription who also travelled books during the period when Leonard claims there was no traveller. Though there was no professional traveller, the duties were shared. Frances Marshall, an employee of Birrell and Garnett's bookshop, recalled, "at [the] time Ralph Partridge was working for the Hogarth Press [1920-1923], travelling their books, and he came to [the bookshop] on their behalf" (qtd. in Noble 91).

From 1924 to 1929 the Press had various assistants and managers who performed some of the travelling duties. Records indicate that Angus Davidson and Richard Kennedy both acted as travellers at various times in the 1920s but the Woolfs continued their involvement. In May of 1926 Virginia reports having "just traveled

Kensington High Street" (*Letters* 3: 265). Usually the focus of these efforts was on London, but exceptions could be made. In 1928 the "success of *Orlando* ha[d] persuaded LW that it might be worthwhile sending [Kennedy] out into the wilderness—in other words, the provinces, to sell the Press's books" (Kennedy 54). Kennedy wrote ahead to make appointments with the booksellers, then travelled to Manchester, Nottingham, Liverpool, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. He notes, "Sold only two sets of *Hogarth Lectures on Literature*. These are practically the only books you can sell here and, of course, *Orlando*: twenty-five copies of *Orlando* to Menzies"[57] (Kennedy 57-9). By the mid 1920s Woolf's novels were generally well received by booksellers.

It was not until 1928 that the Press had, according to Leonard, "a representative who travelled our books: Alice Ritchie was, I think, the first woman to travel for a publisher and some booksellers did not like the innovation" (*Downhill* 169). She was the "first salaried traveler" and worked "on a part-time basis" (Willis 392). Ritchie was also the author of two novels, *The Peacemakers* (1928) and *Occupied Territory* (1930) published by the Press. Acting as the "publisher's representative," she "proved to be a good, if unconventional, commercial traveller, and on the whole she enjoyed taking The Hogarth Press books round the booksellers and getting orders from them" (*Journey* 173). She was also a Hogarth Press author, though one of lesser standing.

In May of 1930 the Woolfs drove to the West Country, all the way to Penzance in Cornwall, and according to Nicolson and Trautmann, their "main purpose was to canvass the current Hogarth Press list to booksellers" (162). Woolf writes to Vita Sackville-West that they "went on to Bristol, and saw your Mr Cleverdon; who bought 10 of the limited edition [of *The Edwardians*] and wd. have liked more" (*Letters* 4: 163). She also wrote to Ethel Smyth that they "have been driving all day from Taunton over Dartmoor in a storm, and selling books where we saw a shop, but its disheartening business. No one reads, no one wants books, the booksellers say, and they keep us hanging about" (*Letters* 4: 163). Woolf's letters in the 1930s continue to make mention of travelling books, particularly on their way to Sussex or on other travels. In 1933 she writes to Ethel Smyth that she has "got to spend Tuesday at Bedford, book selling" (*Letters* 5: 173).

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[57] Menzies was an Edinburgh bookshop, established by John Menzies, and was described as "the cream of the cream" by *Mumby's* (Norrie 79).

John Lehmann, who was manager in 1931, recounts that the duties of the manager included "general supervision of relations with [...] booksellers" and "twice a year, acting as traveller all over the country for the season's new books" (qtd. in Noble 33). Lehmann elsewhere asserts that what he "did not enjoy so much was travelling the provincial booksellers with advance copies and information about forthcoming books. This is really a seasoned expert's job, but Leonard was extremely reluctant, for reasons mainly of economy, to employ professional travellers" (14). He recalls that Leonard sent him out travelling "almost as soon as I started work on a round of the main bookshops in the Midlands, the North, and Scotland" but that he encountered difficulties because his "reasons for liking the books were not by any means always the reasons that appealed to hard-headed booksellers when ordering copies from a small publishing house known for its highbrow and specialist, rather than popular, appeal" (14). Lehmann's impression of a provincial bookseller is telling:

> Well, we'll order one copy of the new novel by this unknown chap, and three on sale or return. Can't promise to move them. Book trade's in a very bad way' (it always was). 'Too many books are being published' (there always have been). 'I ope youll have something by Mrs Woolf or Miss Sackville-West next time you come round.' (14)

Some authors' names were more widely saleable. Typical book-buying decisions were made based on authorship more than publisher's imprint, but sometimes the publisher could be something of a liability if the type did not suit the bookseller and the author was less known. The name of the publisher established certain expectations.

In 1938, Barbara Hepworth became the first full-time traveller for the Press. Her duties were varied: "We published a small, select list twice a year, so Spring and Autumn I went round the country, England and Wales and also Scotland, collecting orders. The rest of the year I travelled the London bookshops for 'repeats', and in between I worked in the office" (qtd. in Stape 117). Hepworth also explains the storage system for the books. She

> was in charge of the stock, and if anything went astray, despite the fact that I was more often than not 'on the road', I was supposed to bear the blame! [...] A large room at the back of the basement [52 Tavistock Square] called the Studio was where Virginia wrote her books, and she was not to be disturbed on any account. This studio also housed the book stock. I was supposed to

> select and remove each morning, before Virginia came down on the stroke of nine, what I thought would be needed to supply the booksellers' bag-men who would be calling throughout the day. In those times if one ordered a book from a bookshop in the morning one would expect to receive it in the afternoon. (qtd. in Stape 117-118)

Previously Hepworth had been running a bookshop in Surrey so when applying for the job of traveller, she was able to say she "knew the trade from the bookseller's point of view" (qtd. in Stape 118).

Personal visits by the Woolfs continued, however, even while there were professional travellers. In 1937 Woolf writes to her sister about "a day at Horsham traveling our books" (*Letters* 6: 179). In October of 1938 the Woolfs planned to "start at dawn" and "travel our books on the South Coast: ending at nightfall at Monks House" (*Letters* 6: 296). During the war, "Leonard himself had visited two towns within range of his Sussex home, Tunbridge Wells and Reigate, where he considered that the best bookshops in the south-eastern counties were to be found […]. The booksellers liked these personal visits, especially in such difficult times; and that was the way we liked to work" (Lehmann 84). Virginia accompanied Leonard on at least some of these visits. A letter from December of 1939 mentions "travelling books" in Tunbridge Wells (*Letters* 6: 373).

Interestingly, travellers often refer to the practice of collecting orders from booksellers as "subscribing." This indicates in part the usual practice of travelling books before their publication so that orders are based on a prospectus, and the publisher has some idea of initial interest. The practice is personal to some extent, but it is contact between a publisher's representative and a bookseller, not direct contact between public and publisher. When orders were made based on a list—on titles, authors and publisher's blurbs, not on actual finished books—reviews become of greater importance in determining a bookseller's order. Ordering titles in this way also lowered the price for booksellers as publishers often offered a better rate for pre-publication orders than for those placed after publication and often referred to as "repeats."

Booksellers and the London Book Scene

In 1926 Charles Harper wrote that a bookseller "should handle books exactly as old Izaak Walton said the angler should handle worms, as though he loved them" (39). With the vast increase in the number of titles published, J. G. Wilson, the famous bookseller, asserts that the "centre and chief of all [the bookseller's] activities lies therefore in his choice of stock; by this he must be judged, and by this, in fact, he succeeds or fails" (122). Bookshops have personalities and the type of "display made by a bookseller dictates the kind of customer he attracts; and these in turn dictate the range and character of his stock. The building up of confidence in the ability to provide first-rate stuff establishes a business" (Wilson 123). Finding a book in a bookshop then is an endorsement of sorts, one with a value that increases with the reputation of the bookseller who selects a book.

In 1927 *The Nation* ran a series of articles about the state of the British book trade. Charles Young in "The Bookseller's Point of View" writes that every "town of reasonable size should have at least one well-equipped bookshop, which would be a meeting-place for the literary fold and students in the town" (64). Further, the "selling of books affects the intellectual life of the people very nearly, combining with the artist and teacher and in fact becoming their introducer to the public in furthering new ideas and explaining old ones" (Young 65). In light of this important cultural role, "Booksellers therefore should cultivate a good literary judgment for the benefit of the public, and not regard their calling merely as a commercial venture" (Young 65). Not only are artists to produce according to disinterested standards, but the booksellers too should be engaged in something higher than making profits. Bookselling should also remain personal, with an emphasis on the bookseller as individual and bookshops as independent. Wilson argues for the "preservation of the personal trader in books" because "without him and the active intelligence he exerts in providing for the public a ready access to the printed records of ideas and events, the business of books will come under the paralyzing control of mass production. A chain-system might end in a book trade in chains" (133). A bookseller and his shop faced some of the similar challenges that a publisher and Press did.

The Hogarth Press thought of starting its own shop as early as 1920, when most books were still sold by subscription. Virginia wrote to Violet Dickinson in July of that year that the "Hogarth Press is growing like a beanstalk, and we think we must set up a shop and keep a clerk" (*Letters* 2: 434). Though plans were never realized, in 1927 there was again talk, this time of buying Birrell and Garnett's Bloomsbury shop. In January Virginia wrote to Vita that she and Leonard "are buying The Bookshop—at least negotiations are begun; Francis [Birrell] is dining here tonight. He says it's the chance of our lives. [...]. What fun though, dont [sic] you think—suppose we did it, and it was a great success, and I had a motor car, and we went bookbuying all over England" (*Letters* 3: 320). The thought of extending the realm of Hogarth Press control into sales once again—a complete circuit from author to seller, as with subscription—had its appeal. Also, as Virginia notes, they would be buyers of other publishers as well, and would decide which books appeared along with Hogarth Press publications within their bookshop.

According to *Mumby's Publishing and Bookselling in the Twentieth Century*, the "number of booksellers in the Greater London Area was approximately 400 in 1914" (Norrie 77). By 1929, that number had risen "nearer to 500 and remained so in 1939" (Norrie 77). Leonard mentions that from the early days they visited "the more important booksellers" (*Downhill* 76) and he recounts who some of those people were. He lists "the great Mr Wilson of Bumpus, James Bain of King William Street, Lamley of South Kensington, Goulden and Curry in Tunbridge Wells, [and] the Reigate bookshop" among those "who were immediately interested in what we were trying to do and did everything to help and encourage us" (*Downhill* 76). Other booksellers were unimpressed with the Hogarth Press books, even laughing at them, but this demonstrates an important distinction between those who can appreciate the new, different, and important, and those who cannot recognize the value. Early universal acclaim would have been problematic in the sense of the too commercial appeal of the books. Highbrow books need a smaller market and a cooler initial reception.

Kennedy echoes the problems some buyers had with the appearance of Hogarth Press books. He found that when traveling, "The buyers are very friendly

[…] but they won't really buy. They don't like our covers and say the public don't like them" (Kennedy 60). Interestingly, many of the supportive booksellers whom Leonard mentions are those of note according to other sources. Bumpus's was "established in the eighteenth century" and "entered the twentieth century as [one of] London's two main 'pedigree shops'" (Norrie 72). The other pedigree shop was Hatchard's. In 1903 Bumpus's shop moved from Holborn Bars to Oxford Street, "but did not acquire the services of John G. Wilson, perhaps the most distinguished of London booksellers, until 1923" (Norrie 72). In addition to Wilson at Bumpus, there was "Charles Young, of the Kensington firm of Lamley's," one of the "good men [who] were exceptional" (Swinnerton 67) booksellers. Though Leonard does not specifically mention Hatchards, in Piccadilly, that store too was selling Hogarth Press books at least as early as 1919. The bookseller there was the "learned Arthur Humphreys" and was "a good bookseller greatly relied on by the nobility and gentry" (Swinnerton 68). Likewise, Truslove & Hanson purchased Hogarth Press books in 1918 and the three shops in this chain were "in fashionable streets in south-west and west-one London" (Norrie 71). The Poetry Bookshop in Holborn, which also bought copies of *Prelude*, was "Harold Monro's creation, as much a *salon* for poets and intellectuals as a shop" (Norrie 75). Yet another purchaser of *Prelude* and other early books is the Chelsea Book Club, opened by Arundell del Re, which stocked "finely printed books and modern art" (Willis 54). Having such men, and such shops, amongst those who recognized the value of what the Hogarth Press was doing could be very useful.

Other bookshops were also associated with the Press. Some copies of *Kew Gardens* were available for sale at the Omega Workshops (Isaac 14). Though the purchase never took place, Birrell and Garnett's shop did sell Hogarth Press books from an early date. The shop was first, after opening in 1919, "in a house off Gordon Square and the clientele was almost exclusively Bloomsburian. The 'Woolves' were among the customers, though not very frequent ones" (Marshall qtd. in Noble 91). The shop later moved to "the grander, more shop-like premises in Gerrard Street" (Marshall qtd. in Noble 91) and the connection with the Hogarth Press continued. Other booksellers connected with the Press include Geoffrey Tyndale, W. Heffer and Sons Ltd. a Cambridge bookseller, and William Jackson an export bookseller. The Hogarth Press also dealt with Simpkin from an early date. Simpkin Marshall dealt in the wholesale of books, "a cornerstone of the distribution structure, booksellers having far fewer direct accounts with publishers than were forced upon them when wholesaling broke down after World War II" (Norrie 72). Simpkin "handled all publishers' books and dealt with most retail outlets in the United Kingdom" (Norrie 72). Production files for *Three Guineas*, for example, include 500 or 1,000 copies for Simpkin Marshall (Reading 571). These numbers indicate a less highbrow distribution, even a less highbrow publication.

So one could buy a Hogarth Press book in certain bookstores but not everywhere. The books were uncommon, although increasingly less so over time. Years later Lehmann reflected that "the shoe-string on which the Press was run did tend to reduce its penetration of the bookshops, though it could not hold back an author like Virginia Woolf once she had become a bestseller" (qtd. in Noble 32).

Early restricted circulation was likely a contributing factor in Woolf's critical acclaim, if not also in her large sales.

Bookstores are an important contact zone for books and their buyers. One famous incident regarding *Orlando* reveals the effect that the categorization and physical placement can have on the fate of books. The book was originally categorized as biography rather than fiction. Sales of novels did better than biographies as a general rule since they were more popular with readers, and therefore with booksellers. In circulating libraries, for example, the "greatest demand, obviously, is for fiction" (Richardson 198). Woolf notes in her diary that with *Orlando*,

> We may sell a third that we sold of The Lighthouse before publication—Not a shop will buy save in 6es & 12es. They say this is inevitable. No one wants biography. But it is a novel, says Miss Ritchie. But it is called a biography on the title page, they say. It will have to go to the Biography shelf. I doubt therefore that we shall do more than cover expenses—a high price to pay for the fun of calling it a biography. (*Diary* 3: 198)

Such a distinction not only raises the complexities of genre, but also demonstrates the dramatic impact of categorization on book sales. Booksellers were, typically, looking for books that would sell. Woolf's book was reclassified as fiction through reviews and sales increased. Desmond MacCarthy in the *Sunday Times* called the book "pure fantasy" (Majumdar and McLaurin 222). *Orlando* sold well, particularly once "You cannot keep your end up at a London dinner-party in these weeks unless you have read Mrs Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*" (Bennett qtd. in Majumdar and McLaurin 232).

The impact of genre on booksellers' reactions to Woolf's work occurred again ten years later. Woolf writes to Ethel Smyth "that [*Three Guineas*] is selling very well, tho' none of the shops at first would take it. Not a novel, they said, and the public won't touch anything controversial about women" (*Letters* 6: 247).

Where you could buy *Flush* involved some significant surprises. The publicity strategies surrounding this book also vividly demonstrate the importance of archival research for discovering new aspects of a book's circulation, and advertisement that unsettle previous assumptions about the book, its author, and its publisher. Not only would a person attending a show at the Metropole Victoria Cinema in London in 1934 have seen an advertisement on the screen for Virginia Woolf's latest book, *Flush*, the "Life of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Celebrated Spaniel," but one could also purchase a copy of the book from theatre attendants (Reading 556). The cinema became the zone of contact between public and book. Selling Hogarth Press publications in a theatre is a remarkable innovation in book distribution and is particularly surprising for a book authored by Virginia Woolf. Populist distribution, and the involvement with the cinema, challenges ivory tower conceptions of Woolf's books and the exclusive highbrow nature of the Hogarth Press. The books were available to the audience and the audience is everyone in the theatre. Such a move also demonstrates the differing treatment that Woolf's books could receive, depending on their type and purpose, as determined by both author and Press.

Circulating libraries were another important institution in the buying and distribution of books. Wilson notes, "An important aspect of book distribution in London is the work done by the larger Circulating Libraries; they provide practically the whole range of the published output on loan" (130). Hogarth Press books were bought by the Times Book Club from an early date and more libraries purchased the books as Virginia Woolf's stature as a writer grew. A problem created by the circulating libraries was "that the new stock held by booksellers is materially affected by the cheaper marketing of library copies six months after publication" (Wilson 130). Circulating libraries also had lists of authors who sold well and if one's name appeared on that list, the impact on sales could be dramatic. In 1925 "an employee of W. H. Smith wrote to *The Newsbasket* asking if a list could be provided of best-selling authors that branches could stock without fear of loss or remainders. The categorized list of such proven 'fairly safe stock'" contains, under the heading "good fiction" the names Hugh Walpole, John Galsworthy, H.G. Wells, and Arnold Bennett among others (McAleer 90). Further, in choosing a book from a circulating library, some "readers would rely upon the frequency of issues of a book from the library as a guide in choosing a novel (the tuppenny libraries usually date-stamped books on the inside front covers)" (McAleer 83). One reader remarked, "'I just look at the front page where the date stamps are marked and if there's a lot of dates on it, then a lot of people must have read it, and so it must be a good book'" (qtd. In McAleer 83). In this case, circulation increased circulation.

Provincial Bookselling

In 1935 Basil Blackwell wrote of the many challenges and disadvantages facing provincial booksellers, many of which have to do with the distance from publishers and distributors. Publishers' travelers typically visit two or three times a year. If a bookseller "sells quickly his stock of certain new publications" that he has bought "on 'journey' or 'subscription' terms by ordering from the publishers' travellers," in order to replace the book "he must pay more for them, unless he prefers to lie out of his stock until the special publisher's travelers comes round again" (Blackwell 140). Books purchased between travellers' visits were not given the "subscription" rate and therefore the bookseller's "reward for selling the books is thus to be penalized if he attempts to sell further copies at once" (Blackwell 140). Another disadvantage for provincial booksellers is that they are "expected to appraise correctly the chances of two or three thousand different new books on the data of Author, Title, and Publisher's blurb […] in the course of two or three days, during the periodic visits of the publishers' travellers" (Blackwell 140). London booksellers also made first selections based on prospectuses before publication, but they had ample opportunity for reordering, and at the discounted rate. The Hogarth Press had ongoing connections with the booksellers in Reigate, in Tunbridge Wells, and others, particularly in Sussex and Cornwall.

Reception, Readers, and Hogarth Press Buyers

The final stage in Darnton's communications circuit is the reader. Although clearly some people buy books who do not intend to read them, readers are the usual targets. Adams and Barker explain that the "most immediate destination of a book, once it is published, is that intended, the audiences to which the author and publisher addressed it" (25). In order to determine this intended audience, one must consider "the nature of the text, the size of the edition, the typographical format, the points of distribution, the reviews and advertisements" (Adams and Barker 25). Some of these elements have already been discussed and the purpose now is to focus on what can be said about Hogarth Press readers and buyers.

The early decades of the twentieth century saw a broadened reading public in Britain generally. Reading was a public concern and "Organizations to promote books and reading included the National Book Council, established in 1925, [and] the Books Society, formed in 1927" (Cuddy-Keane 61). Further, at "a less institutional level, the 1920s and the 1930s were flooded with popular books and articles on reading, written for academic and non-academic audiences alike" (Cuddy-Keane 61). Unwin, in 1935, identified reasons for the increase in readers and included first that "many people acquired the habit of reading books during the war" (6). Other key factors included the "spread of adult education," the "vast improvement in the teaching of English," the growth and improvement of public libraries, the demand of "cheap editions of good books in the bookshops" and "the sudden arrival of the so-called twopenny libraries" (S. Unwin 7). The result was a "New Reading Public" that included more, and more varied, people than before. The New Reading Public, a much discussed topic in the 1930s, was curious and "wants to know" (Dark qtd. in S. Unwin 8), booksellers hoped through the reading and buying of books.

The librarian Charles Nowell writes, "the towns with good libraries are also just as likely to be good centres for bookselling" (182). The first Public Libraries Act was passed in 1850, and its "primary function has been to encourage the reading of good books by developing an interest in definite subjects, and so promoting clearer thinking by the mass of the people" (Nowell 184). As Melba Cuddy-Keane notes, the "public library adds a significant component to the audience for the highbrow press, complicating the usual assumptions about its small, exclusionary nature" (108). Hogarth Press books were in public libraries. Kennedy records a public library in Sheffield placing "an order for £100 worth of books" (60). Virginia Woolf was a supporter of public libraries and "was delighted by the signs of everyday use. In October 1940, she went to the library in Lewes and looked up their copy of her *Common Reader*" (Cuddy-Keane 110). Woolf's diary for this date reads, "I was glad to see the C.R. all spotted with readers at the Free Library" (*Diary* 5: 329). Hogarth Press books were made to be read, as well as to be bought.

F.R. Richardson argues that the circulating libraries too "extend the reading public" (197). The Times Book Club began in 1905 as an incentive and service to the subscribers of that paper, but "in 1911 the library was thrown open to the general public at a subscription rate of £2.12s. for three volumes (Mudies's and Smith's charged £1.17s.)" (Norrie 74). In 1914 the club "invited the public to browse amongst the actual books, hitherto an unheard-of privilege" (Norrie 74), and after 1918 some of those books were from the Hogarth Press. The customers of the new twopenny libraries of the 1930s were generally "people who cannot afford, or think they cannot afford, to pay a regular subscription to a bigger library" (Richardson 197). These readers paid for each title they borrowed, rather than a yearly subscription rate, and the main stock of these libraries was the latest novels in cheap editions. The larger circulating libraries benefitted from the "continuity of patronage which they secure by the system of annual or quarterly subscriptions" and permits "the supply not of the most popular fiction only, but the best books of the day in every department of literature" (Richardson 198). Readers had to know what to ask for, since these libraries were not open stack. Requiring specific information to obtain a book further emphasized the importance of author and title being known, and talked about. Richardson writes of the patrons that there "are still a good many readers who ask for 'a nice book,' and the library assistant is trained to find something to please them, but most subscribers know what book they want, and the library must supply it promptly" (198). Circulating library stock therefore shifts dramatically with demand. Books "by authors of substantial reputation rarely circulate for more than six or eight months, and those by unknown or comparatively unknown writers we do not expect to last more than four months, or three" (Richardson 200). Big sellers could cause problems however. The

> worst problem of all [is] that of the novel which is in great demand for a fortnight (so that a large number of copies have to be bought) and is then almost completely forgotten. Boots' Library buys over a million books a year; its headquarters handle over 700,000 volumes a month. Even so, subscribers read only two books a week, on the average, and the publishers issue over 15,000 every year. (Richardson 201)

There was much competition between publishers for a market for their books. The libraries "buy in effect little more than the books our subscribers ask for" (Richardson 201). Circulating libraries were largely responsive to current public demand, unlike booksellers who had to initiate their own selections and attempt to have a representative stock.

For readers not using a library, the price of a book partly determines its target audience. In May of 1919, Woolf reported to her sister that "Logan [Pearsall Smith] says we shall never make a success on our present system; because no one buys privately printed books but collectors; and they will only buy expensive books; but if we charge 5/ or 10/—we shall have a large sale, and be able to pay writers and painters" (*Letters* 2: 358). The price of books, and novels in particular, changed greatly in the last half of the nineteenth century. The large three volume novels were expensive. Publishers "produced new novels in the standard three-volume first edition, at a price of more than 31 shillings" (McAleer 17). In the 1890s these were replaced "by a one-volume, six-shilling edition, which was followed by even cheaper editions if demand warranted" and therefore greatly increased "the distribution of literature among all classes" (McAleer 27). The Net Book Agreement was put in place in 1900 to prevent "pricing wars between booksellers and publishers by forbidding the sale of any new book at less than the fixed price" (McAleer 27). The standard price for a new novel was 7s.6d in the subsequent decades of the twentieth century. Most Hogarth Press novels were offered at this rate; the price of other types and sizes of books varied. Nowell admits, "there is a serious difference, and a widely separated public, for 2s.6d., 5s., and 7s.6d. books" (193). By 1935, "most of those [books] which have stood the test of time are available at 3s.6d., and still more often 2s.; whilst many can be obtained at the cost of a packet of cigarettes" (S. Unwin 11). Hogarth Press readers were alert to the importance of price as demonstrated by some of the letters written to Woolf regarding *Three Guineas*. One woman wrote that the book "ought to have been published as a Penguin Special [price 6d.], noting 'it ought to have a far wider public than it will get as a seven & six penny book'" (Snaith "Wide Circles" 126). Further "Constance Cheke, a working-class woman, writes that she would not have bought it if Smiths had not reduced it to 2s." (Snaith "Wide Circles" 126). *Three Guineas* was a Hogarth Press book, not a Penguin. It was reissued as a Uniform Edition in 1943, but the price remained 7s.6d (Kirkpatrick 108).

According to Bourdieu, a writer's position in the field of cultural production is defined by her or his audience (45). I would argue that there are some significant parallels for a publisher. *In Books and the Public* there are two kinds of publishers listed, partly defined by the type of books they sell, but also by how much they sell. The "Publishing houses tend nowadays definitely either toward the purely profit-seeking and speculative or toward the literary and esoteric" (Sadleir 35). The end, the books produced, determines the characterization, but so too does who and how many buy. As McDonald notes, readership plays a key role in the valuation of literary forms for critics such as Edmund Gosse. In the 1890s authenticity could be determined by scarcity, so that a "feeling's authenticity was inversely proportional to the number of people who shared in it " (McDonald 6), and the implications for literature and its popularity become clear. Novels were inferior to poetry because of their broad appeal, and therefore, "[f]ar from being intrinsic, then, the value of literary forms was, for Gosse, dependent on the limited size and specific gender of their readership" (McDonald 6). To have a small readership, of the right men, was a sign of success for writers, often a counterpart to disinterested intentions. Readers play a key role in determining the characterization of a book. If enough people read it, a book is popular, but more than indicating appeal, such a characterization also implicates intentions, aesthetics, and value, whether accurate or not.

People understand a Press too by what, and how much, it sells, and readers are obviously a key part in such characterization. More recently, scholars have shown the simple dichotomy of popular versus high culture is inadequate and inaccurate, that "what we call 'high' and 'popular' culture can both spill across class lines" (Rose 329). Jonathan Rose cautions that the

> term 'popular culture' is only meaningful as a quantitative measure of the audience—applying, say, to any novel that sells over a million copies. 'High culture' is not its polar opposite, but rather a qualitative measure of the work—the best that is known and thought in the world, leaving open the question of whose criteria we are following. (329)

What then becomes important is looking at what readers themselves said about Hogarth Press books, and who the readers were, building an understanding of the Press from its readership, in all its complexity.

The list of initial buyers of Hogarth Press publications is illustrious and contains some remarkable names. Rainey notes that one of the marketing strategies for *Ulysses* was to seek out "purchasers with prominent and distinguished names, such as William Butler Yeats and George Bernard Shaw, in the same way that gallery owners attempt to place new paintings or sculptures with eminent collectors" (72). Readers are again a marker of value. Early Hogarth Press buyers included Aldous Huxley, Princess Bibesco, Hugh Walpole, and Wallace Stevens among many others.

While famous names play a role in heightening the reputation of the Press, the majority of readers, the Press's common readers, are increasingly of interest.

New work is being done to establish who Woolf's readers were and what their reactions to her books were, but though there is significant overlap, Woolf's readers are not necessarily Hogarth Press readers and vice versa. American readers of Woolf encountered her as a Harcourt Brace author rather than a Hogarth Press one. Still, Woolf's readers are a place to start. Recently published is a collection of letters from Woolf's readers that asserts "Woolf's readership is wider and more diverse than commonly thought" and "demand that we re-think our construction of Woolf's audience" (Daugherty 4). Based on the letters,

> Woolf's common reader was neither a figment of her 'exquisite' imagination nor a card-carrying elite; ordinary readers read and understood Woolf *as* she was published, long before anyone explained her to them. Certainly Woolf's modernism was not 'beyond' popular authors, the working classes, or the uneducated. (Daugherty 6)

The popular author Berta Ruck wrote to Woolf in praise of *Orlando* and she indicates that she first "read it in the Times Library" and afterwards "bought it" (qtd. in Daugherty 60). Woolf's book was therefore one of those requested by the circulating library readership, which also shows how borrowing a book does not preclude buying it. A letter from 1931 indicates the appreciation of the non-specialist public for *The Waves*. Harriette Campbell writes, "I am writing as one of the public who picks up a novel to be entertained. I am quite sure you wanted to reach people like myself and will be glad that you have succeeded" (qtd. in Daugherty 111). There are other letters from various classes of readers, such as M. P. Thomasset who writes in her spare time "in the common sitting room, with a mind harassed by the need of money, by constant domestic difficulties & interruptions" (qtd. in Daugherty 81), the nurserywoman Rachel Dyce Sharp, as well as Lady Emerald Cunard. The bookseller Charles Brumwell wrote to Woolf informing her "that he sees it as his duty to increase sales of *Three Guineas* by recommending it to his customers" (Snaith *Virginia Woolf* 126). The issue of audience, readers, and a writer's relation to the public was an important one for Woolf herself, one she wrote extensively about. Patrick Collier surveys Woolf's writing about these relations noting,

> While her position along it is constantly changing, we see here Woolf navigating a continuum that remains constant throughout her writing life—the continuum between the extremes of artistic self-enclosure and commercialism, private and public writing, complete fidelity to one's idiosyncratic expression and complete sell-out to the market. (372)

Woolf's own writing performed negotiations in many ways parallel to those of the Press.

One can make parallels between Woolf's readers and Hogarth Press readers more generally: a diverse group of various economic classes and interests. Hogarth Press readership overlapped with the Book Society readership. In addition to the bookseller's selection, as an endorsement, if a book is the "choice of the Book Society [that] may bring a book down to a lower price than would otherwise be possible by ensuring a quick sale and wide recommendation […]. A good book that gains wide acceptance among the public becomes news and is the best publicitymaker for the bookseller" (Wilson 129). A number of Hogarth Press publications were Book Society choices. Sackville-West's *The Edwardians* was a choice in 1930. *Flush* was the October selection of the Book Society in 1933.[58] *Three Guineas* was on the Book Society list of recommended books for June of 1938, as was *Roger Fry* in 1940. *The Years* was given "a prominent place on [the Book Society's] April list" (Reading 577).

The Press was also connected to a number of other associations, a significant number of them women's associations. Many of the titles the Press published, such as Willa Muir's *Women: An Inquiry* (1925), *An Anthology of Cambridge Women's Verse* compiled by Margaret Thomas (1931), and Mary Birkinshaw's *The Successful Teacher: An Occupational Analysis based on an enquiry conducted among women teachers in secondary schools* (1935) would indicate an intended readership that includes the members of these associations. Theodora Bosanquet, the author of two Hogarth Press publications, wrote to Woolf about *A Room of Ones's Own* in 1929. Bosanquet was also "Secretary of the International Federation of University Women between 1920-1935" (Daugherty 64). In her letter she ends with, "We are buying it in dozens" (qtd. in Daugherty 64). The "we" might simply indicate the general public, or women, but it may also refer to the International Federation, a group of women very likely to be interested in the book.

In 1931, the Hogarth Press published *Life as we have known it* by Co-Operative working women. It was edited by Margaret Llewelyn Davies and Virginia

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[58] *Flush* was also one of two October selections for the Book of the Month Club in America; the second was *The Woods Colt*, "an exciting book about Arkansas hill-billies." (Reading 556)

Woolf wrote the introduction to the collection. In this essay, "Memories of a Working Women's Guild," Woolf "introduces a collection of working-class women's autobiographies by asserting [her writing's] inability to introduce, to speak for, to summarize such a collection" (Snaith *Virginia Woolf* 115). Woolf demonstrates in her writing that she is very much aware of her own class position and the limitations which follow; the publication of the book by the Press shows the value placed on a readership that likely included members of the Guild and other working class readers. The publication of a book connected to an association with a membership of "about 30,000 members, operation through more than a thousand local branches" (Glendinning 146), reveals a part of the networks of people and institutions within which the Press functioned, and there are other examples.

The folder entitled "Publicity" in the Reading collection includes many letters written regarding *Three Guineas* and the Press's attempts to link this book to potentially interested readers—in this case, women's associations. In this way, the Press's distribution networks are connected to, and enlarged by, those of the various associations and a particular readership is targeted.[59] Norah Nicholls, the Hogarth Press manager in 1938, corresponded with most of these associations. Helen Fletcher of the Six Point Group writes to Nicholls asking if she would like the group to circularize the members, "And if so, could [she] send some leaflets? It seems to be a possible way of getting some pure feminism before the leading feminists of the country" (Reading 571). Nicholls also asks for a list of women's organizations from

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[59] For an extended discussion of the ways the Press targeted certain markets and used its review copies strategically, see Alice Staveley's "Feminist Readers and Mainstream Reviewers: *Three Guineas* Goes to Market."

Fletcher. Nicholls' contacts, in addition to the Six Point Group, included the Medical Association for Women, St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance, the Electrical Association for Women, The Over Thirty Association, and the National Council of Women of Great Britain. In most cases the associations did take leaflets and circularize their members, often also reviewing the book in their publications. In the case of the Over Thirty Association, Rosamond Tweedy offers to include copies of *Three Guineas* on their bookstall in their annual general meeting and Nicholls replies that the Press will send however many copies Tweedy "thinks practical" (Reading 571), adding another point of contact between readers and books. The laudatory publicity leaflet for *Three Guineas* contains the line "OBTAINABLE FROM ALL BOOKSELLERS" (Reading 571). Such a statement shows the much-widened scope of distribution by the late 1930s.

Another important connection for both distribution and readership is that with the International Psycho-Analytic Association. The London Institute "had hitherto been their own publisher, printing and binding their books in Vienna and having them 'distributed' by a large London publishing firm. They did not find this system satisfactory and they wished to hand over to a publisher the entire business of publishing the International Psycho-Analytical Library" (*Downhill* 165). Publishing and distributing such large body of work was complex, but turned out to be highly beneficial to the Press: "The Collected Papers was from the start one of the most successful of our publications. [Leonard] circularized a large number of universities, libraries, and individuals in the United States and had almost at once a good sale in America as well as in Britain" (*Downhill* 165). These books connected the Press to many other institutions, particularly educational ones, as well as to their readers. Students were another aspect of Hogarth Press readership.

The Press was also associated with various political associations and societies, particularly, the Cooperative movement, the Fabian society, and the Labour party. Publishing for these societies would affect awareness of the books (potentially using their lists to publicize books, place reviews in their publications, etc.), readership, and likely distribution. Connections with associations led to buyers and readers. The Hogarth Press was part of a broadening network, the centre of a larger hub as time went on.

There is much more work still to be done to determine who bought Hogarth Press books, where they bought them, and why they bought them. This is a dynamic stage for the Hogarth Press imprints, moving after printing and binding from Press premises to various booksellers or wholesalers, from there to libraries and book clubs and readers. Yet there is continued and varied movement outside the typical path, from one reader to another, from associations to members: books are given, lent or resold, reappearing in second-hand booksellers' shops. The circuits proliferate.

Rethinking the Hogarth Press: From *Two Stories* to Multiple Stories

This project has explored the various elements that compose a Hogarth Press book, considering the physical, material, and symbolic elements in book production. Further, "Under the Imprint of the Hogarth Press" has described how the publishing institution of the Hogarth Press worked, based on its material practices, embedded in a historical, geographical and socioeconomic context. In the case of the Hogarth Press, it is imperative to consider both the nature of the publishing institution—the business components including why it was started, its imprint and logo—and the reputations of both Leonard and Virginia Woolf, in order to fully appreciate how the Hogarth Press functioned and what it meant in its original context. The sense of the business and the people involved are highly interconnected and reciprocally influential. Both of these elements, the institution and the people in it, are crucial for the exploration of the question: What is the Hogarth Press? The answer involves a conflation of public and private, the impersonal with the personal, in the functioning of the Press. The purpose here has been to define the Press in its considerable complexity in order to understand particularly its symbolic and cultural significance.

Typically, in the many studies of the works of Virginia Woolf, the immaterial meaning of texts, the study of linguistic signifieds is privileged over the study of the material, bibliographic and non-linguistic codes, which also shape the meanings of literary works. This division of focus is all the more surprising because Woolf herself was involved in the publishing decisions of her books. No one, however, encounters a book in its pure or ideal form. Scholars often talk about *To the Lighthouse* as a singular and disembodied entity, as if there were a clear referent to that signifier. There is a clear referent in one sense, but everyone meets the text, and uses it in some material edition with covers, editorial choices about variants in the text, a particular font, a certain number of pages, a certain price etc. Literary critics often do not investigate the reliability of the texts they study or consider the nonlinguistic elements of books. This not only limits the study, but can also result in problems with accuracy, a tower built on a shaky foundation. Woolf and the Press worked meaning into the nonverbal elements in her texts, and Hogarth Press texts more generally; even the linguistic elements are and were not static. The study of the institution of the Hogarth Press as well as Woolf's material texts that places an emphasis on history and materiality is necessary to offer a new paradigm through which to view her work and the Press. It is by looking at and thinking about old objects and historical records that new insights emerge, such as the sometimes surprising ways Hogarth Press books were advertised and sold. Further, through looking at book trade journals and advertising manuals contemporary with the Press, a fuller sense emerges of the institution and its engagement with the debates that also affected its readers.

The field of book history attempts to address the significance of material texts to their construction of meaning and this project is indebted to many of the concepts and methods developed by book historians. Normally, however, the Hogarth Press would just be one stage of the book history circuit—the publisher in Darnton's conception and implied by Adams and Barker's circuit with its bibliographic focus. Adams and Barker define publishing, the first stage in a book's life, as "the name we have given to the point of departure, the initial decision to multiply a text or image for distribution" and there are "four parties to the transaction, any of whom might be identical with each other: author, patron (or financier), manufacturer and distributor" (16). This formulation excludes the publisher, though that role might be included, in part, under the heading of patron. The Press would be behind their "events" in the life of a book, the "decision to publish" and "manufacture" in some cases. For the case of the Hogarth Press, neither circuit is sufficient to deal with the complex interaction of people and practice, the material and intangible production of books which took place when Virginia and Leonard Woolf wrote books, published them, sometimes printed them themselves, marketed them, and even travelled them at times. The reception of the books too are tied up in who the Woolfs were as well as what the Press did; the people and the Press practices reciprocally influenced their respective reputations, and from that, the significations of the imprint of the Hogarth Press. Therefore, I have devised a new circuit for the study of books that places a central emphasis on publishing institutions; it also includes an examination of the people who are involved in the production and the bibliographic artifact that results. All three elements—the institution, the people, and the artifacts—interact, are impacted by each other in complex and reciprocal relations. What the Hogarth Press was, how it was defined, is related to its practices, to what it made, to what it said about itself and its products, and to how those products were distributed and sold. My approach attempts to balance the study of the intangible with the tangible elements in artistic production while giving consideration to some of the profound ways they influence each other.

Further, within Woolf studies there remains a hierarchy of genres with "serious novels" at the top. My project considers some of the lesser-discussed texts in

Woolf's oeuvre, including *Flush*, essays, and other shorter pieces. Similarly, in discussions of the Hogarth Press, Woolf's novels, the works of Freud, Vita Sackville-West's bestsellers, and the poetry of Eliot or Auden are often the focus as they are works which accrued either considerable economic capital, symbolic capital or both. What is little studied, and often not even considered worth keeping, is the Hogarth Press ephemera, the advertising leaflets, catalogues, and pamphlets. Less attention is paid to the various series of essays that the Press published. This project has begun a recovery of little studied elements of Woolf's texts and the Press. The resources for this work are largely found in the archives and include financial data, advertising materials, and other figures of production such as the binders used and where they bought their paper supplies. There is much more work still to be done that explores the booksellers and distribution of books more extensively, and traces the production circuits of books other than those here. There is also exciting work to be done that looks at the years of the Press after 1942. As Bishop states, he believes "much of the exciting work on Woolf in this century is going to come out of the archive" ("From Frass to Foucault" 57).

The Press performed multiple types of negotiations at various stages in book production, embracing multiplicity and fluidity in production practices, the physical books, its advertising strategies, and its distribution methods. The multiplicity and the diversity of practices resulted in a difficulty in pinning down or definitively characterizing the Press. The Janus-faced institution used methods and elements of the past to convey the new. The mixture of history and innovation also occurred at all levels of production. The Press, encompassing many things at the same time made use of discourses and debates of its time, and it too, changed over time. The material and nonmaterial elements of production, the multiple referents of key terms, further complicate the situation and thus genealogies and definitions of terms are required. The Press made sophisticated use of its list, in particular the strategic use of Virginia Woolf's texts. Through handprinted books, limited editions, pamphlets, and bestsellers, the Press sent messages about art and commerce and shifted the definition of value. The Press's advertising, euphemized at times, performed complex negotiations of rhetoric, invoking personal and commercial, amateur and professional, as did the physical books themselves. The recurring themes recall *Two Stories*, the "origin," and the early characterization persists.

Studies of the Hogarth Press, including this one, consider at length the beginning and the originary moments of the institution. The interpretation of the start of the Press has greatly contributed to the understanding of it, its characterization. However, as I have shown, the characterization is more complex than usually acknowledged and Press practices need to be examined in differing contexts over time. While the Press began once, though that beginning is not simplistic, it repeatedly ends. The Press ended with Virginia Woolf selling her share in 1938. The Press ended with Woolf's death in 1941. The Press ended when it was joined with Chatto and Windus, when Leonard died, and when Chatto and Windus was subsumed by Random House. Yet the imprint persists. Work needs to be done that takes up the "endings" of the Press and replaces the almost complete silence about the institution after 1946. Virginia Woolf's books, and many other authors continued to be published by the Hogarth Press even after the imprint no longer contained the names Leonard and Virginia Woolf.

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